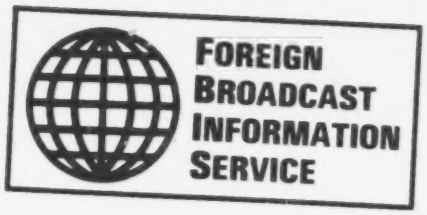

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Editorial on Gorbachev's European Council Speech

AU1107194389 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Jul 89 p 5

[Editorial: "Historically Based Approach"]

[Text] Convincing, clear, and specific, full of new ideas about the future—Mikhail Gorbachev's speech at the European Council evoked great interest and attracted the attention of the political circles throughout the world. Impressive in its depth and arguments, it is one of the indisputable phenomena in the most modern political history of Europe.

The first Soviet leader, analyzing the historical connection of the destinies and the mutual dependence of the European states, as well as modern realities, answered the great question of our time: What will the future be like for the peoples of the old continent, in what image will our mutually dependent world be cast, and what choice must the present politicians in East and West make? The situation in Europe today affords the unique opportunity of giving priority to human values, sending the postulates of the "Cold War" to the archives, and replacing the containment doctrine with the doctrine of restraint.

Recalling the deep roots of the European optimism and noble dreams of the great son of France, Victor Hugo, who said "...a day will come when the markets, open for trade, brains, and ideas, will be the only battlefield," Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that the idea of European unity must be collectively analyzed. The existence of two social systems is not and cannot be an obstacle to this unity, because the fact that the states belong to different systems is a reality and a historical given, and because the sovereign right of every nation to select its own social system is an important precondition of the normal European process. Helsinki, and afterward Stockholm and Vienna, brought this process to fundamentally new positions and expressed the striving toward changing international relations in the spirit of humanism, equality, and justice. Recent experience shows that it is possible to establish a peaceful order in Europe, and to base it on the principles of freedom of choice and balance of interests under conditions of decreasing military confrontation.

Dwelling on the importance of restructuring, Mikhail Gorbachev frankly spoke about the shortcomings and difficulties in the turning point period, while pointing out that the changes in the USSR have the role of a favorable factor in the international arena. He rejected the suspicions that the USSR intends to isolate the United States from Europe and declared that the two most powerful states are a natural part of the European international political system, and their participation in its evolution has a historical basis.

The Soviet leader attributed special importance to the idea of the "European home," for whose implementation there are sufficient preconditions. The most important among them is the fact that the philosophy of the concept on constructing this "home" precludes the probability of a military conflict and the possibility of the use of force. Therefore, Mikhail Gorbachev gave priority to security issues. The results that have been achieved until now in the talks on the control over the weapons are encouraging. Despite the fact that the positions of NATO and the Warsaw Pact on the fundamental issue of the future of the nuclear arsenals seem to be diametrically opposite, Mikhail Gorbachev thinks that the differences should not be dramatized and that a solution must be sought. Europeans can travel the road toward the total elimination of the nuclear weapons together, without relinquishing their positions. The Warsaw Pact can remain loyal to its nuclear-free ideal, and NATO—loyal to the concept of "minimal containment." Such an approach does not prevent, but on the contrary facilitates, the rapid beginning of talks on tactical nuclear weapons among all interested sides.

After presenting the clear Soviet positions on the issues of disarmament, Mikhail Gorbachev also reviewed the problems of multilateral cooperation in the continent, which he defined as the foundation of the "common European home." Developing and expanding their economic, scientific-technical, and cultural relations, and conducting together a struggle for protecting the environment, the European peoples can respond to the challenge of the future, preserve their variety of forms and adhere to their common humane goals.

The ideas expressed in the speech of the Soviet leader in Strasbourg are not only based on history, they also fully fit into the logic of Europe's modern development. They are a passionate appeal for uniting the efforts of all countries and peoples for the construction of a common, peaceful, and democratic home, which will be the original example of the future more just and humane world.

Party Daily Editorial on Bucharest Pact Meeting

AU1107123189 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 10 Jul 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Joint Actions in the Name of Peace"]

[Text] The supreme organ of the military-political alliance of the seven East European socialist countries, the Political Consultative Committee, has held a 2-day session in Bucharest. The work of the conference, which proceeded in a businesslike and constructive manner, in the traditional atmosphere of friendship and cooperation, once again confirms that these forums have always been an inspiring manifestation of collective intelligence and collective will, of agreed actions in the name of socialism and strengthening peace, security, and understanding in Europe and throughout the world.

In the declaration "For a Stable and Secure Europe, Free From Nuclear and Chemical Weapons, for a Significant Reduction of Armed Forces, Arms, and Military Expenditures" adopted by the member states, the allied socialist states defined as the highest goal of their foreign policy the strengthening of peace, freeing mankind from the threat of war, and developing wide mutually beneficial international cooperation. At the same time they identified halting the arms race and further disarmament as the chief task of the modern day. It is no secret that the declaration is a clear and precise response to the documents adopted at the recent jubilee session of the NATO Council in Brussels. Of course, the comparison between the meetings is not to NATO's advantage, because, in response to the North Atlantic Alliance holding to its nuclear deterrence strategy, which continues to be a source of military threat, the Bucharest declaration outlines the prospects of a Europe free of nuclear and chemical weapons, of reducing armed forces, armaments, and military budgets, and of maintaining the military equilibrium at the minimum level adequate for defense alone, to exclude the possibility of surprise attack and wide-scale offensive actions.

Close study of the adopted documents cannot fail to reveal views of Europe's future that are completely in harmony with the age-old interests of all its peoples. The documents adopted in the Romanian capital justify the growing international interest in the peace initiatives of the allied socialist states, because an important stress was placed in Bucharest on the values common to all states and peoples and on the need for joint actions to resolve the universal human tasks facing Europe and the world.

The conference also devoted considerable time to discussing the internal development of the allied socialist states and the importance of the processes of restructuring and the reforms taking place in them, aimed at renewing socialist society and imparting continuous dynamism to its political and economic system. It was specifically stressed that no universal models of socialism exist, that no one holds a monopoly over the truth, and that the construction of the new society is a creative process that is carried out in different ways in the different countries in accordance with their conditions, traditions, and requirements.

The Bulgarian people can be fully satisfied both with the active creative participation in the work of the conference by our delegation, led by Comrade Todor Zhivkov, and with the conference documents, which are directly related to our vital national interests. Here one is primarily referring to "the practice of interference in the internal affairs of other states and attempts to destabilize them," which is specifically condemned in the communique. It was stated in circles close to the conference that what was in mind here were the impermissible actions by Turkey to interfere in Bulgaria's internal affairs. Incidentally, the communique also points out that "the conference confirmed its common desire to act in the interest of socialism, improving the cooperation of the allied states, and providing reliable guarantees for their security."

We cannot fail also to express satisfaction with the appeal that the conference made for promoting the successful holding of the all-European meeting on environmental protection in Sofia this autumn, in order to make it a successful step in strengthening international cooperation in this field.

When closing the Bucharest conference, the top Bulgarian leader stated that the chief goal now is to redouble our efforts to implement the conference decisions in practice. As Comrade Todor Zhivkov emphasized, the agreed activity of the allied countries in the international arena and our successes in achieving our noble goals will help to accelerate the successful solution of the difficult and responsible tasks facing our countries and peoples.

Army Daily Outlines Pact's Past, Future Role

AU1107122589 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 7 Jul 89 pp 1, 3

[Editorial: "Steadfast Defender of Peace and Socialism"]

[Text] For almost 35 years the history of the Warsaw Pact Organization has been a story of steadfast, loyal, and unstinted service to socialism, progress, liberty and independence of peoples, and peace in Europe and throughout the world. This is completely in line with the organization's nature, spirit, and essence, its aims and tasks, in the name of which it was formed on 14 May 1955 in the Polish capital of Warsaw.

Everyone knows that the Warsaw Pact came into being only 10 years after the end of World War II, in which the Soviet Union brought Hitler's Germany to its knees, and when the united front of democratic forces led by the Soviet Union destroyed obscurantism, retrogression, reaction, fascism, and death. However, notwithstanding this victory of worldwide historical importance, the clouds of war and threats to peace hung low over the continent of Europe. War-loving forces, surviving fascist officers and generals who had taken refuge in various countries, and imperialism as a system could not reconcile themselves to the situation that had been created in Europe and the world. They did not want peace, they did not accept the military, economic, moral, and political victory over socialism won by the Soviet warriors in alliance with the antifascist forces in European and other states. The warmongers sought all possible ways to once again provoke confrontation in the world, to make one group of states oppose another, to sow dissensions, misunderstandings, schisms, destruction and lack of understanding, to calumniate and blackmail—all well-known techniques of the flagbearers of imperialism. As an epitome expressing the disagreement and dissatisfaction with the Soviet Union's great victory in the war, the

victorious socialist revolution in a number of East European countries, and the world situation that had been created, on 17 March 1948 a number of states formed the first postwar military-political grouping—the Western Alliance. Only a year later, on 4 April 1949, 12 Western states founded NATO in the U.S. capital, Washington, thus creating in Europe and throughout the world a war risk situation, a real threat to the socialist countries, and not only to them.

There was a need for active, powerful counteraction to the aggressive nature, hostility, and self-seeking aims and intentions of NATO. Urgent measures needed to be taken for the collective defense of the territorial integrity, liberty, and independence of the socialist countries. The powerful military coalition of the imperialist states particularly intensified armament, and undermined peace. The world could not be left in this condition. A new approach was required to national, European, and world problems, a new view was needed, with decisive steps undertaken to defend peace. In his time, V.I. Lenin had developed his view on the problem of the collective defense of socialism and of creating an allied, invincible force with which to crush all imperialist attacks.

Such a force, such a collective military-political organization, was provided by the Warsaw Pact. This was a military-political alliance of a type that mankind had never known before, a completely new type of alliance whose members are fraternal sovereign states, and which proclaims as its banner the struggle for peace. This alliance threatens no one, does not want military conflicts, and is created precisely to prevent such conflicts. From its very first day until the present, the alliance has been dominated by the Leninist principles of peaceful coexistence of states with different social orders, proletarian and socialist internationalism, respect for the sovereignty and independence of states, noninterference in the internal affairs of other states, and mutual understanding in the name of progress and mankind's prosperity.

Marxist-Leninist doctrine proclaims the socialist countries' unity and cooperation as one of its valuable achievements, and this been fully confirmed in the Warsaw Pact Organization. This organization is living a rich life; events of real fraternal solidarity and aid are recorded in its history; within the organization, states and armies cooperate with one another, and hitherto unknown principles are created in practice of foreign-political and military cooperation free of selfish interest, built upon mutually beneficial, sovereign, honorable, and virtuous foundations. In the course of the years the mutual cooperation gave birth to previously unknown directions, forms, and methods, through which each member state achieves self-fulfillment, develops its sovereignty even more, and thus in fact helps to create a fighting military-political alliance with a humane, civilized essence. The annals of the most prominent events in the history of the Warsaw Pact categorically prove its noble aims and tasks. The Warsaw Pact makes an invaluable contribution to preserving and strengthening peace, reducing international tension, and promoting mutual understanding among states, as well as protecting the rights and independence of other states who are not members. In this sense the aims and goals of the Warsaw Pact have been made international, and peoples regard it as a sure guarantee for world peace.

The fact that the Warsaw Pact is the standard-bearer of peace is confirmed by the dozens of peace initiatives made by it at the most varied forums in Europe and throughout the world. There is hardly a single UN session at which one socialist state or another, or all of them acting in concert as a united friendly alliance failed to put forward different initiatives for reducing international tension, increasing trust between states, and guaranteeing the independence of states. The new political thinking, in evaluating and resolving contemporary European, world, and international problems, as expressed and demonstrated by the USSR and the other socialist states, provides further practical proof of the Warsaw Pact's true aims and tasks. In essence it is a defensive fraternal alliance of sovereign states, and has no aims, tasks, and interests other than the aims, tasks, and interests of international security and world peace.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria is an equal member of the Warsaw Pact and is doing everything that is required of it to strengthen and develop the alliance and enrich its activity. Our country has taken a most active part in all the forums of the Warsaw Pact and has made proposals in the name of peace and the independence of peoples. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is very active in the various structures of the organization. This is quite natural, because socialist Bulgaria is conducting a principled, honorable, peaceful policy, threatens no one, does not desire foreign territories, and does not pry into its neighbors' yards, nor does it want anyone to interfere in its own internal affairs. We are a peaceful working people, whose chief aim is to build up our state as a developed and civilized force. Under the leadership of the party, our people is engaged in constructive peaceful labor. Our country needs peace and a bright future, and for this reason we regard every threat as something from the times of the "cold war," as a feudal remnant. No one can divert us from the chosen true path of socialist construction, from the peace offensive of victories of labor, or from our desire to live in peace and good-neighborliness with the other Balkan countries. No one can divert us from the intense creative mood that has seized our country in fulfilling the party's plans. Our people has coped with all difficulties of every kind. They will also cope with the present temporary difficulties arising from the interference of other states in our internal affairs. The caravan moves on....

The Bulgarian People's Army from its very creation has been, and will continue to be, an army of the Communist Party, of the victorious socialist revolution, an army of the people. Today it is an equal ally of all the Armies of the Warsaw Pact. We are making our own contribution to strengthening our fighting military-political alliance,

we are taking part in its various actions, and are creating a spirit of international solidarity, mutuality, friendship and comradeship, of true modern-day brotherhood.

Every act of the Warsaw Pact has been followed with great interest by the entire international public. This is completely natural, because on every occasion something new was proposed for improving the international climate and guaranteeing peace in the world. The conferences of the Political Consultative Committee are awaited with even greater interest. We are sure that from the forthcoming conference of the Political Consultative Committee in the Romanian capital Bucharest the world will obtain new ideas and initiatives for peace, which progressive mankind will welcome with pride, joy, and inspiration. The Bucharest meeting will enter history as a meeting of realism, of sober action, as a victory of the new political thinking, which was initiated and realized in practice by the USSR and the defensive military-political alliance of the Warsaw Pact. The Bucharest conference of the Political Consultative Committee will ensure that tomorrow is even clearer and brighter, it will guarantee peaceful competition in labor and calm for peoples throughout the world, and will concern itself with the security of the European and the world home.

Turkey's 'Anti-Bulgarian Speculations' Denounced

AU1107143589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Jul 89 p 2

[Velko Yordanov commentary: "Anti-Bulgarian Speculations—Who Is Afraid of the Truth?"]

[Text] Many commentators in Turkey concluded that the meeting in Taksim Square in Istanbul on 24 June was the culmination of the campaign against our country. On that occasion the national flag of the People's Republic of Bulgaria was burned and slanders and insults were addressed at our most responsible party and state leaders. Altan Oymen, MILLIYET commentator, asked the question: "And now what?"

However, leading circles in the Republic of Turkey do not view the meeting as the culmination of the campaign against Bulgaria. On 27 June Kenan Evren visited the Kapukule border checkpoint and, using vicious anti-Bulgarian slanders, demonstrated a verbal position that is not in the least appropriate for the vocabulary of a president.

What are the main sins attributed to us? Ostensibly, the Bulgarian Government is forcing its Muslim citizens to emigrate to Turkey and is terrorizing the Muslims in Bulgaria.

When one reads such slanders in the Turkish press one inevitably asks: "Where is the evidence of specific facts?"

Neither the spokesman of the ruling Motherland Party nor the spokesmen of the opposition Social Democratic Populist Party and True Path Party cited any arguments in their anti-Bulgarian attacks. Who are those Bulgarian Muslims who have been tortured, sentenced, and deprived of freedom because of their religious belief? If there really were any facts, they surely would not be ignored in the name of good-neighbor relations. Simultaneously, terms such as "Bulgarian oppression" and "Bulgarian tyrants," can frequently be seen in the Turkish papers. Apparently, the Turkish politicians use repetition to convince world public opinion of their "truth."

There are no Muslims who have been forced to leave Bulgaria. All citizens who departed for Turkey have crossed the border with regular foreign travel passports. The fact that some of them voluntarily decide to remain there, others are forced to do so by their relatives, and yet others do so because of lack of clear information about conditions of living and working in neighboring Turkey is another matter.

During the specially organized visit to the Kapukule border checkpoint the Turkish premier, speaking to the Bulgarian Muslims, declared: "Some people remained in Bulgaria after you came here. Let them also come!"

Let the reader himself assess the meaning of this statement. Does anybody have the right to incite our citizens? Will they really be guaranteed work and dwellings, or they will have to make do with tent-camps, as the inhabitants themselves are calling them?

Another issue emerged, provoked by the same speech: "Let them also come!" Does it mean that those citizens who now respond to the invitation, will be used as an argument for the slanderous accusation that they have been "expelled" from Bulgaria?

We allowed all our citizens, without exception, to travel freely in the spirit of the international agreements. Some of our Muslim citizens responded to the appeals of the Turkish leaders and are making their choice—they are changing their permanent residence.... Everyone is free to decide by himself. He is free to distinguish alone between truth and lies. Is our country responsible for the fact that some people believe empty invitations?

Now many people in Turkey are striving to earn "political capital." In his anti-Bulgarian propaganda campaign Turkish Premier Turgut Ozal is seeking salvation for the constantly decreasing authority of his party. The leaders of the opposition parties are trying to fish in troubled water and they are contributing to the anti-Bulgarian hysteria. Erdal Inonu already tried to include the topical subject on the agenda of the recent Socialist International Congress, but failed.

Politicians, figures from the fields of culture and the arts, and journalists are cursing Bulgaria. However, in the final analysis, those Bulgarian Muslims who grab their

children and wives, leave their comfortable houses, and exchange them for the tents in the vacinity of Edirne, Luleburgaz, Lozengrad, and Istanbul are the ones who are being cheated. They themselves will be able to analyze the answer to the question: Who supports the truth, and who is afraid of it?

Joint Decree Prescribes Plan Fulfillment Moves
AU1107235889 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 7 Jul 89 pp 1,4

[Dimitur Deliyski article: "Topic of the Day"]

[Text] The reasons for the full support expressed by the Council of Ministers and the Bureau of the Bulgarian Trade Union Central Council for the initiatives of the labor collectives, companies, and other organizations for fulfilling and overfulfilling the plan for 1989 and for producing additional goods lie in the situation that has been created in the country and in the patriotic upsurge of the broad masses of the people. However, the behavior of each and every one of us, even in a movement that has arisen spontaneously, requires normative foundations to create conditions in which labor can be most effectively utilized and any possibility of disorder, senselessness, or disillusionment can be prevented.

This is the meaning of the joint decree adopted on 6 July by the Council of Ministers and the Bureau of the Bulgarian Trade Union Central Council; this is also the meaning of Council of Ministers Order No 12 that was adopted 10 days ago. Both documents regulate many of the problems that have arisen lately, create conditions for regrouping forces, provide certain incentives, and specify sanctions against those responsible for negative phenomena.

The results of the past 6-month period, especially in the economy, provide grounds for a positive assessment. The basic economic indicators are being achieved and exceeded in industry, and a rich harvest is expected in agriculture. Under these conditions, we have no moral, civic, or personal right to miss the chance to increase the rate of the country's socioeconomic development. To miss the chance would run counter to the tasks and goals of the restructuring that we are now carrying out.

At the same time, as realists we are well aware that in certain parts of the country, because of the acute manpower shortage, a fall in production results is possible, and in some places inevitable. It is precisely for this reason that we require a major regrouping of forces, improvements in the organization of production, and full utilization of production capacities and the available resources of raw and other materials. The aims are clear; they arise from the initiative of the labor collectives, companies, and other organizations for manufacturing **additional products**. Under the leadership of the associations and the executive committees of the people's councils, programs are currently being drawn up in the companies and other economic organizations to ensure the required resources and conditions for fulfilling and overfulfilling the plan for 1989. Many labor collectives are already working extended work days, and are also working on some of their rest days in the month. Council of Ministers Decree No 27 prescribed the conditions under which the **white-collar staff** of enterprises, institutions, and organizations may switch over to work in direct production. Order No 12 extends the scope of the above decree as follows: "**Workers** wishing to transfer temporarily to work in regions with acute labor shortages are to be permitted to take unpaid official leave, and their job and official accommodation are to be retained for them."

The joint decree adopted on 6 July gives the self-managing economic organizations the right to change over to hourly payment of wages. This is an additional condition for attracting to employment pensioners, housewives, mothers, students of working age, and others not engaged in social production.

However, this is only one aspect of the problem, one of the ways to prevent possible negative consequences from the situation that has arisen in these regions.

The other task that brooks no delay, and which must be resolved during the next few days, is for the companies and economic organizations to determine the precise figures and state tasks until the end of the year. This is necessary not only because every labor collective has to know its obligations, determine the goals, and specify the means with which it will achieve these goals but also necessary because, according to the joint decree approved yesterday, substantial tax allowances are provided in relation to the profit obtained from the additional output, while in regions with severe manpower shortages the taxation of such production is to be suspended.

If we make a rough estimate, the most significant reserves in the forthcoming economic maneuver are contained in the major structural reorganization of the economy. Practical changes are required that will bring about real results before the end of the current year in both foreign currency and goods production for domestic consumption. A radical and immediate change is needed in investment policy and capital construction. Things that until recently were transformed from decisions into mere wishful thinking cannot and must not be put off any longer. It is inevitable that all investments not connected either with the production of consumer goods or with envisaged foreign exchange benefits must be **stopped in real terms**. At present about 14,000 buildings are under construction in the municipalities and oblasts, but according to expert assessment these can be limited to 4,000-5,000 in number. These represent immense labor, material, and raw material resources. If these resources are redirected this very day into activities where they are urgently needed, they can lead to results and to the production of additional goods as early as this

year. This task is evidently within the capacity of our construction industry, the companies that make it up, and the leaderships of the territorial communities.

Alternatively, let us take the example of the companies and enterprises of the food and tobacco industry. A rich harvest is expected, and this branch has adequate capacities, yet its production units have planned for far lower indexes than were achieved last year. We leave it to the readers to assess this kind of behavior.

In the conditions that have arisen, it is exceptionally important how we handle the available material and raw material resources. It is clear that what is needed here is strict coordination and skillful and far-sighted maneuvering—most likely along the lines of halting the inefficient export of a number of raw and other materials and stopping investments in the inefficient production of other raw and other materials. This especially applies to metals, plastics, wood pulp, and timber resources. No one is requiring that the import of raw and other materials be halted, even for foreign currency, provided that the goods manufactured thereof are suitable for export and will bring in new foreign currency.

It is more than clear that what we now require is a new standard of organization, and we need to further improve internal company organization and internal company structures, to ensure that these function much more flexibly in the new conditions and that their internal resources are utilized much more effectively to achieve high production results, to fulfill and overfulfill the plan for 1989, and to produce additional goods.

Daily Criticizes 'Modest' U.S. Aid to Poland
LD1207093189 Prague CTK in English 0753 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Bratislava July 12 (CTK)—"Even the modest financial aid promised by Bush (to Poland) is aimed to support the ideas and values declared by the United States. The money will go mainly to support the private sector and political pluralism", the Slovak daily PRAVDA said today.

It added that the other things will have to be tackled by Poland itself which has been emphasized by Bush many times.

In this context, the paper pointed out that Poland's debt in the West amounts to 39,000 million dollars. Only the loss caused by the policy of restrictions and embargoes imposed on Poland by the United States since 1981 has reached 15,000 million dollars. With regard to facts mentioned by the U.S. President in Warsaw, any compensation is not at all taken into consideration, PRAVDA said and stressed that disillusion prevails mainly in the Solidarity.

Deputy Premier Zak in PRC for Cooperation Talks
LD1107094989 Prague CTK in English 1024 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Prague July 11 (CTK correspondent) [dateline as received]—Czechoslovak Deputy Premier and Chairman of the State Planning Commission Jaromir Zak arrived here Tuesday for a working visit to China at the invitation of his Chinese counterpart Yao Yilin.

The two sides will open official talks later today to exchange experience from economy and planning and discuss possibilities of further development of economic cooperation between China and Czechoslovakia.

Hears Appreciation for CSSR 'Understanding'
LD1107175989 Prague CTK in English 1608 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Beijing July 11 (CTK correspondent)—China's and Czechoslovakia's interest in maintaining the present dynamic of economic cooperation in the nearest future was expressed by Chinese Deputy Premier and Minister-Chairman of the State Planning Committee Yao Yilin and Czechoslovak Deputy Premier and State Planning Commision Chairman Jaromir Zak here today.

The two sides agreed that Czechoslovak-Chinese cooperation should acquire forms that correspond to the present needs, which means that simple goods exchange should be gradually substituted by cooperation on a higher level, joint ventures and enterpreneurial activities on third markets.

Yao Yilin highly appreciated the understanding shown by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Czechoslovak people for the action of Chinese authorities in suppressing recent anti-socialist riots in the Chinese capital.

Zavadil, Polish TU Leader Discuss Ties
LD1007230689 Prague CTK in English 1546 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Prague July 10 (CTK)—A working meeting between Chairman of the Czechoslovak Central COuncil of Trade Unions Miroslav Zavadil and Chairman of the Polish National Trade Union Accord (OPZZ) Alfred Miodowicz took place here Monday.

The leaders of the two trade union organizations exchanged information about the situation and trade union activities in the two countries. They appreciated cooperation between the Czechoslovak and Polish trade unions and set main directions of its further development.

At the end of the meeting Miroslav Zavadil handed over to Alfred Miodowicz the Antonin Zapotocky Medal in appreciation of his active contribution to the development of Czechoslovak-Polish trade union relations and cooperation.

Johanes Receives French Assembly Delegation
AU0607160389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Jul 89 p 2

[Report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] On Tuesday [4 July], in Prague, Jaromir Johanes, CSSR foreign minister, received a delegation from the Finance and Economic Commission of the French National Assembly, which was headed by Yves Tavernier, the deputy chairman of the commission. In a discussion on international issues, the guests welcomed the conclusion of the Soviet-American disarmament agreements. Minister Johanes briefed them on, among other things, the CSSR's contribution to the foreign policy of the socialist countries and on their efforts to radically improve the international situation. He gave a positive evaluation of the significance of the Paris conference on the human dimension of the further development of the CSCE process.

Sterba-Led Group Departs for Khomeyni Funeral
LD1107190989 Prague CTK in English 1523 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Prague July 11 (CTK)—A Czechoslovak delegation headed by Foreign Trade Minister Jan Sterba left here today for Iran to attend the funeral ceremonies which are to take place the 40th day after the death of Iranian leader Imam Ruhollah Khomeyni.

Jiri Hajek's Passport Held After Nordic Trip

PM1107130689 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 10 Jul 89 p 3

[Morten Fyhn report: "Passport Confiscated on Homecoming"]

[Excerpts] The 76-year-old Jiri Hajek, Czechoslovak foreign minister during the 1968 Prague Spring, was finally allowed to travel to Norway in May this year to visit his son Jan, who is studying in Oslo. After a few weeks in Norway Hajek took the train home to Prague.

His journey home went through Sweden, a country which Hajek had the Czech authorities' permission to visit only in transit. But Hajek stayed 10 days in Sweden, and attended the Socialist International Congress in Stockholm. He also gave interviews to the Swedish mass media, as he had done to the Norwegian mass media.

"When I arrived home I was summoned to the passport office and told that it is not in the state's interest that I should have travel documents," Hajek told AFTENPOSTEN. He was not given any further explanation, but Hajek himself is not in any doubt:

"I am being punished for my visit to Sweden," he said. Hajek now intends to appeal against the passport authorities' decision to deprive him of his passport. [passage omitted]

Norwegian Foreign Ministry spokeswoman Sigrid Romundset told AFTENPOSTEN that it is a disappointment that Hajek has had problems since his return home. "We will be looking into the matter more closely," she said.

Trade Unions, Journalists Condemn Groups' Appeal

LD1107201889 Prague CTK in English 1840 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Prague July 11 (CTK)—A session of the Presidium of the Central Council of Czechoslovak Trade Unions today condemned a new act of provocation by some illegal groups, expressed in their appeal "Several Sentences".

In accord with the response by trade union organizations, the Presidium stated that the will of the working people to solve the demanding tasks of the present in a creative atmosphere, in open meaningful discussions has been fully confirmed.

A statement adopted by the Council of the North Bohemian Regional National Committee in Usti Nad Labem said the authors of the appeal do not at all seek a dialogue but to provoke confrontation and tension in society.

"What is interesting is that these self-styled 'advocates of democracy', who are so much concerned about freedom, rights and democracy in our country, are indifferent, for instance, to anonymous and threatening phone calls and the terrorist explosion in the National Committee complex on February 8. Does that mean freedom and democracy? We cannot agree with this", the statement said.

The Presidium of the Czechoslovak Journalists Union Central Committee said in its statement that the principles of restructuring are being asserted in complicated struggles "But we have all reasons for believing in a full success of the work we have started and therefore are against the spreading of mistrust and defeatism. However, this requires above all peace for work and a businesslike atmosphere. Therefore we are against any forces' misusing the process of democratization for their destructive goals. In this context we condemn the unfounded attacks against honest journalists who are committed to pursuing the policy of the communist party and the national front." The statement added that restructuring and democratization carried out on socialist foundations remain the only alternative for the future development of Socialist Czechoslovakia.

Herrmann Receives U.S. Congressman Solarz

LD0707141989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1108 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—There must be no pause in the disarmament process. The striving that is still present for military strength and confrontation must be replaced forever by disarmament and peaceful international cooperation. This GDR stance was emphasized by Joachim Herrmann, member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee Politburo, to Stephen J. Solarz, member of the U.S. House of Representatives, in a talk in Berlin today.

Herrmann spoke about the successful shaping of developed socialist society in the GDR, which is taking place under liberal-minded conditions. The policy of the GDR for the well-being of the people, which is characterized by continuity and renewal, is being implemented in the alliance of all the parties and mass organizations united in the democratic block and in the national front. The safeguarding of peace is an indispensable condition for the successful realization of this strategy. Therefore, the GDR welcomes the positive trends that are developing in the international arena and is actively contributing to their further shaping and strengthening. In this connection, Herrmann pointed to the GDR's many specific contributions to disarmament and detente and explained the U.S. stance on current problems of world political developments. He spoke in favor of further progress in the disarmament sphere, but also stressed that the United States does not want to dispense with the concept of "deterrence" and wants to retain the relevant nuclear and conventional capabilities. Solarz showed particular interest in the GDR'S strategy for the unity of economic and social policy.

The two men advocated a further expansion of relations between the two states.

Mixed Commission Session Held With Soviets

LD1007175489 East Berlin ADN International Service in GDR 1454 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A session of the GDR-USSR mixed commission took place in the GDR capital today. It was the turn of Dr Herbert Krolikowski, GDR state secretary and first deputy foreign minister, to take the chair. Vyacheslav Kochemasov, USSR ambassador to the GDR, led the Soviet side.

At the session, which took place in a spirit of steadfast fraternal friendship and close cooperation between the GDR and the USSR, questions of mutual interest were discussed and relevant commitments were made.

5-Year Economic Plans Coordinated With USSR

LD0807161189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1437 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Deliberations on coordinating the national economic plans between the GDR and USSR for 1991-1995 concluded in Berlin on Saturday. A protocol on the results was signed by Gerhard Schuerer, GDR deputy chairman and State Planning Commission chairman, and Yuriy Maslyukov, USSR first deputy chairman and State Planning Committee chairman.

The numerous links in research, development, production, and trade between the GDR and USSR will also develop in the coming years. This will be done through continuing cooperation among enterprises, combines, and establishments, as well as through the development of direct relations.

The two chairmen agreed to actively continue the tasks of coordinating the plans through central planning organs, enterprises, and combines.

Editorial Assesses SED Committee Meeting

AU1107141689

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 29 June 1989 on page 3 carries an unattributed 1,700-word report, headlined "GDR Citizens on the Eighth SED Central Committee Meeting," which notes that in their discussions the party and work collectives stress that the eighth Central Committee meeting "vividly reflects the deep trusting relationship between the party and the people." Party members intend to "draw the necessary conclusions for political work among the masses, the implementation of their combat programs, and the further successful preparation for the 12th party congress," while "party life and party democracy will be developed further, more attention will be paid to criticism and self-criticism, and individual work with the leaderships will be shaped in a more continuous way."

According to the report, the GDR people also attach considerable importance to the Central Committee's "assessment of relations between the GDR and the FRG and Berlin (West). Many working people express satisfaction with the positive results of Erich Honecker's meeting with Walter Momper." The report ends with letters from GDR citizens, reflecting the above.

In the same issue, on page 3 in a 1,000-word report "by our correspondents," headlined "Good Results and New Projects in Preparation of the 12th Party Congress," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND reports on discussions of the Cottbus, Frankfurt/Oder, and Leipzig SED Bezirk leaderships which note at their meetings that so far they have fulfilled and partly exceeded the plan figures.

Werner Walde, Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Cottbus Bezirk leadership, said that the successful work done on the road to the 12th SED Congress was due to "the unity and cohesion of the party organization, the close ties with the working people, and the consistent conflict with wrong and hostile views." He said that based on "the firm positions of the

seventh and eighth meetings, it was necessary to orient political work among the masses even more effectively toward convincingly expounding the policy for the people's benefit."

At the Frankfurt/Oder meeting, First Secretary Christa Zellmer said in her address that "using the clear answers and convincing arguments of the Eighth Central Committee for the ideological and political work among the masses helped enhance the leading role and combat strength of our Marxist-Leninist party." She said that the party organizations had to "carefully prepare the personal talks with all comrades for the exchange of their party documents," which must be aimed at consolidating their "ideological steadfastness, political activity, and militant commitment."

At the Leipzig Bezirk leadership meeting, which was chaired by Second Secretary Helmut Hackenberg, it was stressed that every comrade must live up to the principle, "where there is a comrade, there is the party," and must make a big contribution to the implementation of the resolutions adopted at the 11th SED Congress. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND reports that the meeting decided to hold party meetings in August which will discuss the subject: "Being a communist means to fight and bring about change."

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 30 June 1989 on page 2 carries a 1,200-word ND report headlined "Larger Contribution of Trade Unionists to Increasing National Income," reporting on a meeting of the National Executive Council of the Free German Trade Union Federation [FDGB] in Berlin on 29 June, chaired by its chairman, SED Central Committee Politburo member Harry Tisch, who said that "the trade unions' efforts are aimed at making further headway in the main field of struggle, the unity of economic and social policy." He said that the "high performance" of the working people represented a solid foundation for the 1990 plan. Harry Tisch "called upon the trade union leaderships and managements to ensure, in the next 2 months, a comprehensive, democratic plan discussion." He stressed that cooperation between the GDR and the USSR "guarantees our further successful move forward. It is marked by stability and dynamism as well as by the broad application and economic use of high technologies."

In the same issue on page 8 in a 2,200-word report "by our correspondents," headlined "Prepare for the 12th Party Congress in Particular by Good Plan Fulfillment," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND reports on meetings of five other SED Bezirk leaderships and the Wismut area leadership on 29 June, taking stock of the work of the party collectives and discussing future tasks in preparation for the 12th Party Congress.

At the Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk leadership meeting, Siegfried Lorenz, SED Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the bezirk leadership, said that the "clear positions of the seventh Central Committee meeting by the end of last year proved to be correct," the party had closed its ranks, and the most important experience following the seventh Central Committee meeting was that "the significance of our party's ideological work has clearly increased."

At the Magdeburg Bezirk leadership meeting, Werner Eberlein, SED Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Bezirk leadership, paid tribute to the work of party and working collectives, but said that the task was to pursue a "closer relationship with the masses, while preserving the party's role of vanguard.

Addressing the "often-used" term "restructuring," Eberlein said that "we have successfully restructured our country for 40 years for the people's benefit, in particular since the eighth party congress," and added that "more than ever before, everything depends on how the party's economic strategy is implemented." He said that this meant primarily that "the existing material and intellectual capabilities must be used even more consistently for the necessary increase in performance and for a high economic efficiency of science and technology."

At the Gera Bezirk leadership meeting, First Secretary Herbert Ziegenhahn stressed "every comrade's political mission to continue the comprehensive discussion with the people, to convincingly answer the working people's questions on the problems of our time, and to rally the people around them, in order to jointly strengthen socialism."

At the Neubrandenburg Bezirk leadership meeting, agricultural problems were discussed in particular. According to NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, it was stated that the collectives are making efforts to "overcome unjustified differences and to make inefficient agricultural production cooperatives and state farms reach the level of the best." First Secretary Johannes Chemnitzer said that "the bezirk party organization is able to successfully implement the party resolutions in preparation of the 12th party congress, and thus make its contribution toward strengthening socialism on German soil."

The Rostock Bezirk leadership meeting dealt with the report given by Secretary Ernst Horstmann on the good output of the shipbuilding industry, and noted that "one of the most important conclusions for further work was the broad, democratic inclusion of the working people for the fulfillment of the economic plan and the implementation of all obligations for the GDR's 40th anniversary." The meeting also said that the "party's ideological unity must be forged even more, and the activity of all members and candidate members must be intensified."

At the Wismut area leadership meeting, First Secretary Alfred Rohde said in his report that the results achieved in the first 6 months of this year were "a good foundation for the further preparation of the 12th party congress." He said that the working people of the Wismut SDAG [Soviet-German Corporation] reacted positively to

the assessment of bilateral relations made by Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev at their recent meeting in Moscow. Rohde called upon the party collectives to "enhance their combat strength and make political-ideological work among the masses even more effective."

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 1-2 July on page 8 carries a 1,100-word report "by our correspondents," headlined "The Party's Economic Strategy Continues To Be Implemented Successfully," reporting on the Halle, Schwerin, and Suhl Bezirk leadership meetings on 29 June.

At the Halle meeting, Hans-Joachim Boehme, SED Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Halle Bezirk leadership, said that the "atmosphere in the Bezirk was marked by the spirit of intensive preparations for the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Republic," and that socialism in the GDR was "stable in every respect." He added that efforts of "certain imperialist forces" to bring about "an erosion of socialism" were doomed to failure.

Hans-Joachim Boehme said that the quality of political-ideological work among the masses must be improved. He stressed that "whatever is additionally produced in preparation of the 12th party congress, enlarges the leeway for relevant resolutions for the people's benefit." In this respect, socialist competition must be increasingly focused on "high performance in socialist rationalization," he said.

At the Schwerin Bezirk leadership meeting, First Secretary Heinz Ziegner stressed that the plans fulfilled by the working people are a good basis for "opening up further reserves in all social areas and for fulfilling the resolutions of the seventh and eighth Central Committee meetings with optimism." Regarding the situation in agriculture which is affected by the drought, he called upon cooperative peasants to do their best and try to bring in the crops with the smallest possible loss.

At the Suhl Bezirk leadership meeting, First Secretary Hans Albrecht said in his concluding address that "despite the successes achieved, there is no reason for satisfaction. Suhl will continue to make an increasing contribution to enhancing the attractiveness of socialism, he said, adding that this requires a further improvement in political-ideological work by the secretariats of the kreis leaderships and the leaderships of the grassroots organizations."

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 6 July 1989 on page 2 carries a 350-word ND report headlined "The Yardstick for Communists Is Creative Action," reporting on a meeting of the Erfurt Bezirk leadership on 5 July, assessing the eighth SED Central Committee meeting. Gerhard Mueller, SED Central Committee Politburo candidate member and first secretary of the bezirk leadership, said that the slogan "my work place—my combat station for peace" was still of current interest, and the better the citizens were informed about their tasks, the more comprehensively the 1990 Plan was discussed, the more they would do to fulfill these tasks. He said that another task was to "comprehensively strengthen the alliance with the Soviet Union and the combat community with the CPSU." In this respect, the recent meeting of Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev in Moscow was of great importance, he said.

FRG Protests Violence Against Newsmen on 7 Jul

LD1007131689 Hamburg DPA in German 1240 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Excerpt] East Berlin (DPA)—In East Berlin today, the Federal Government protested the obstacles put up to journalists' working conditions, and the violent action by members of the State Security Service against correspondents of the Second German Television. While filming a protest rally in Alexander Square Friday evening [7 July], which was directed against the suspected falsification of local government election results, the correspondents were kicked and beaten, and the camera was sprayed with black lacquer. The protest was conveyed by Franz-Juergen Staab, deputy head of the Bonn mission, to the competent department chief in the GDR Foreign Ministry, it was announced in East Berlin. [passage omitted]

FRG Military Budget Seen as 'Incompatible'

AU1107121989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8-9 Jul 89 p 2

[Editorial by "W.M.": "Bonn—Words and Deeds"]

[Text] As was decided by the Bonn cabinet this week, the FRG military budget will be increased by DM1.7 billion in 1990. The largest increase in the total budget for stepping up armament is in contrast to recent statements by Bonn politicians that they intend to work for progress in disarmament.

Words and deeds—the budget shows that Bonn puts its stakes on stepped-up armament; even though the proposals of the Warsaw Pact states on a drastic reduction in conventional forces and arms are on the negotiating table; even though Mikhail Gorbachev in Strasbourg recently offered further reductions in Soviet tactical missiles, if simultaneous negotiations were to be resumed on tactical nuclear weapons; even though the USSR, the GDR, and other socialist states are already carrying out significant unilateral concessions, making disarmament steps, and reducing their military spending.

What will the billions of Deutsche marks in Bonn's military budget be spent on? Several days ago, the Bundestag gave the go-ahead for new military projects. These are four frigates of the "F 123" type, which will be commissioned in the years 1994 to 1996, and 75 additional tanks of the "Leopard II" type. Thus the number of this offensive weapon type that the Bundeswehr will have will be increased from 1,942 to 2,017. The FRG

Army has a total of 5,100 tanks now, 200 more than last year; and let us not forget the biggest arms project, the "Fighter 90," which was also decided on this year.

It is remarkable that the FRG spends its billions of Deutsche marks for definitely offensive weapons and, regarding ships and aircraft, for weapon categories in which NATO is now considerably superior. That is absolutely incompatible with the intention stated in the NATO summit report to push "as a matter of prime importance the elimination of the ability to launch surprise attacks and to start large-scale offensive acts."

With the additional DM1.7 billion, the FRG's military budget will be increased to DM54.47 billion. The growth rate is much higher than the 3 percent annually that Washington has demanded of its partners. Most of them had rejected the 3 percent, not least because of the aggravation of social conflicts that such high military burdens are bound to create. However, Bonn is the top boy once again. The Federal citizens will experience what that means.

PRC Vice Premier Tian Receives Wyschofsky

LD0707141889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1030 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] Beijing (ADN)—In Beijing today, Chinese Vice Premier Tian Jiyun, member of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Politburo, and Guenther Wyschofsky, GDR minister for chemical industry, praised the good development of economic relations between China and the GDR. Wyschofsky is in Beijing for the fifth session of the GDR-PRC Committee for Cooperation in Industry, Foreign Trade, Science and Technology.

The partners in the talk said that the meeting of the economic committee was successful. On behalf of China's party and state leaders, Tian Jiyun expressed thanks for the GDR's solidarity with China during the recent events in the country. Both sides reaffirmed their intention to further expand bilateral economic and scientific-technical cooperation on a long-term and stable basis in the interests of the two peoples.

Today, Wyschofsky and Qin Zhongda [PRC minister of chemical industry] signed the protocol of the economic committee meeting. It sets out as the main aspect of further cooperation and further expansion of foreign trade, production cooperation, and cooperation particularly in power economy, the chemical industry, engineering, metallurgy, and the transportation sector.

SED Official Hints at Ideological Split in Bloc

LD1007195689 Hamburg DPA in German 1847 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] has now publicly hinted at a split in the socialist countries within the Eastern bloc into two ideological camps. The rector of the Academy of Social Sciences under the SED Central Committee, Otto Reinhold, wrote in an article published in the party organ of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, 'DIE WAHRHEIT': "In the Soviet Union and Hungary the idea exists that what are needed are great changes in conditions relating to property, a development of market relations, a broad development of socialist democracy, and competition in the hope that these changes will lead to faster development of science and technology and greater economic efficiency. The SED follows a different strategy and with it some other socialist countries, for example the CPCZ [Communist Party of Czechoslovakia].

Reinhold also points out that the last CPSU congress decided on an "acceleration of socioeconomic development". A similar resolution from the SED "would be in total contradiction to the realities in our republic and would be a foolhardy resolution." Reinhold reaffirms the official remarks of SED politicians that the "CPSU has the full support of our party" and adds: "But that does not mean that one has to agree with everything that is said in discussions or written in the press." Moreover, the SED is "always at pains not to conduct open and public disputes if it is not absolutely necessary." The party will also continue to stick to this policy.

Deputy Premier Receives Hungary's Medgyessy

LD1007140689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1309 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Hungarian Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy is in the GDR at the invitation of Gerhard Schuerer, GDR deputy premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission. During a friendly meeting between the two personalities in Berlin today experiences about the management and planning of the national economies were exchanged and further economic cooperation was discused. They emphasized the high level of the continuously developing economic relations. The long-term program for the development of cooperation up to the year 2000, which had been agreed at the highest level, is proving to be a basis for this. Trade in 1989 had increased compared with last year. The coordination of the 1991-95 plans provides the prerequisite for the further development of mutually advantageous economic relations.

Medgyessy stressed that the exchange of opinions on economic policy was valuable for the tasks which have to be solved. He was specially interested in the GDR's experiences of how combines and enterprises are carrying out their increased responsibility for the national economic reproduction process. Schuerer and Medgyessy discussed further questions of cooperation within CEMA.

SED's Joachim Herrmann Receives BTA Director

AU1007210089 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 8-9 Jul 89 p 2

[ADN report: "BTA Director Received at SED Central Committee"]

[Text] Berlin—The joint interest in the further expansion of the existing friendly cooperation between the mass

media of the GDR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria was at the focus of talks for which Joachim Herrmann, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], received Boyan Traykov, director of the Bulgarian news agency BTA and Central Committee member of the Bulgarian Communist Party, on Friday [7 July]. Joachim Herrmann informed his guest, who is visiting the GDR at the invitation of ADN, about the diverse and productive activities with which the SED and the workers of the Republic prepare for the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR and the 12th SED Congress. Taking part in the meeting were ADN Director Guenter Poetschke, SED Central Committee member, and Petur Vasilev, charge d'affaires ad interim of the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

SED'S Axen Meets Bavarian SPD Official

LD1107085689 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1533 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Central Committee, and Karl-Heinz Hiersemann, member of the SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] party executive, chairman of the Social Democrat parliamentary group in the Bavarian regional parliament and chairman of the SPD area of Franken, reaffirmed the joint responsibility of the two German states for safeguarding peace and continuing the disarmament and detente process today in Berlin. During the frank exchange of opinion on current international questions, as well as on the relations between the GDR and the FRG, the two politicians agreed that the peace and detente policy is the prerequisite for developing good-neighbourly relations in Europe.

Hermann Axen and Karl-Heinz Hiersemann stated unanimously that it is now necessary for disarmament efforts to continue dynamically on all levels. They acknowledged the progress achieved in nuclear disarmament with the elimination of Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles as well as the start of negotiations on conventional disarmament in Vienna and on further confidence- and security- building measures in Europe. They welcomed the most recent statement by the political consultative committee of the Warsaw Treaty member states as a suitable basis for further progress in disarmament, detente and cooperation. The proposal by the U.S. President for a reduction in conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe is a step in the right direction.

Negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons with the aim of further zero-options are imperative for the successful continuation of the disarmament process. The two interlocutors expressed confidence that, with the meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, and Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, conditions are being created which positively affect a further improvement of the situation on the European continent.

Hermann Axen stressed that the year 1989, which is the 50th anniversary of the beginning of World War II, is a special reason for the Socialist German state to see to it that never again war, but only peace, emanates from Geramn soil. This historical legacy justifies anti-fascism as well as the peace policy as the GDR state doctrine. neo-Nazism and xenopobia can not be reconciled with peace and joint security. They called for the vigilance of the international community and of all peace-loving and democratic forces.

Hermann Axen and Karl-Heinz Hiersemann acknowledged the relations between the GDR and the FRG which are developing as a result of the visit by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State to the FRG in September 1987. Relations between the GDR and Bavaria had also developed positively in the the economy, scientific-technological cooperation and environmental protection. They spoke in favor of expanding cooperation and dialogue.

The two interlocutors stressed that the possibilities for forming of good-neighbour relations between the GDR and the FRG were good if both sides allowed themselves to be guided by a respect for sovereignty, inviolability of frontiers, territorial integrity, equality and noninterference, realism, and good will. There was agreement on the necessity of establishing the course of the Elbe frontier and disbanding the Salzgitter registration office.

For the SED, the following took part in the talks: Hans-Georg Schuster, deputy department head in the SED Cental Committee; and Karl Seidel, head of the FRG department in the GDR Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Accompanying Karl-Hienz Hiersemann were Bavarian regional parliament members, Rolf Langenberger, deputy chairman of the SPD parliamentary group, Bernd Hering, Klaudia Martini and Otto Schumann.

On the same day Karl-Heinz Hiersemann and his entourage took part in a seminar on security policy with representatives of the GDR Institute for International Politics and Economy and of the Council for Peace Research.

Hiersemann Gives News Conference

LD1107091889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1817 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The continuing dialogue between the SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] and the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] in the interest of real steps in disarmament of the SPD party executive and chairman of the Social Democratic parliamentary group in the Bavarian regional parliament, as the main concern of his third official visit to the GDR. At a press conference in Berlin today, he said that his party hoped that the FRG would be the driving force in the NATO alliance on matters of disarmament and detente.

We know, Hiersemann said, that similar efforts are being made in their area by the GDR. He recalled a comment by Erich Honecker during an earlier talk that the two German states have the obligation, in view of their common history, to make the peace between them more secure.

The SPD politician reported that security and detente had played a central role in his talks. There had been agreement in evaluating the recent NATO summit as a step in the right direction. Like the GDR, however, his party advocated negotiations on short-range nulcear weapons with the goal of achieving a third-zero option. Both sides also shared the fundamental interest in scrapping battlefield nuclear weapons. The SPD was strongly opposed to the stationing of new nuclear weapons in the FRG. "What is falsely referred to as 'modernization' has no part in our policies," Hiersemann said. The Lance missiles must disappear from FRG territory. Further topics of discussion were cooperation on the environment and in trade, as well as town twinnings. His talks planned for the next few days in the Cottbus and Gera Bezirks are to promote the SPD-SED dialogue at the territorial level also.

Questioned on the advance of the neo-Nazi "Republicans" in the FRG, Karl-Heinz Hiersemann said that the SPD was very concerned about this. It would use all the means at its disposal to fight this indubitably right-wing extremist party. It was in the process of working out a concept to this end. Hiersemann condemned, in this connection, the comments by CDU [Christian Democratic Union] Finance Minister Waigel on an allegedly legal continued existence of the German Reich within the 1937 border. He could only warn against pursuing such a path. It would pave the way for a further growth of right-wing radicalism.

The SPD politician stated further that there had also been discussion of the problem of low-flying aircraft. In his view, structural non-aggression capability implied an end to low altitude flying in the GDR and in the FRG. He had advocated including in international negotiations the question of ending low-altitude flying.

FRG To Cooperate on Environmental Matters

Minister Reichelt Goes to FRG

AU0707171789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Jul 89 p 2

[ADN report: "GDR Minister Arrives for Talks in FRG"]

[Text] Bonn—Hans Reichelt, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and minister for environmental protection and water management, arrived in the FRG on Wednesday [5 July], for talks with politicians and ecology experts. He was welcomed at Frankfurt/Main airport by representatives of the FRG Ministry of Environment, Nature Conservation, and Reactor Safety.

At the Rhineland-Palatinate Central Environment Agency in Mainz, Minister Reichelt was received by Land Environment Minister Alfred Beth and informed by President Juergen Koschwitz on the functioning of an air measurement center. As Koschwitz told Minister Reichelt, there were concerns about "home-made" pollution in extreme smog weather conditions.

Earlier, during a visit to the Lurgi machinery company in Frankfurt/Main, the GDR minister was informed about clean-air and clean-water technologies. The company's representatives stressed the good and close business relations with the GDR. The firm participates in a number of projects in the GDR for the recuperation of materials, above all in the chemical industry, and also works with GDR licenses for the latest environmental technology.

In the evening, FRG Environment Minister Klaus Toepfer gave a reception in which prominent FRG political and business representatives took part.

During their 5-day visit, the GDR delegation, which is led by Minister Reichelt, will meet with other business representatives and visit other environmental protection facilities. These include facilities in Northrhine-Westphalia and Lower Saxony, including the sewage clarification plant in Seesen (Harz), which is equipped with GDR technology. In addition, pilot projects on cooperation in environmental protection will be agreed on.

Cooperation Stressed

LD0607212189 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1704 GMT 6 Jul 89

[Text] Bonn (ADN)—The environment ministers of the GDR and the FRG, Dr Hans Reichelt and prof Dr Klaus Toepfer, stressed at a press conference on Thursday in Bonn the positive development of relations between the two countries in environmental protection are at the same time an important contribution to shaping normal relations between the GDR and the FRG. Cooperation in environmental projects in the other state makes it clear that ecology is not a one-way street.

In Toepfer's assessment both German states have entered a new phase of cooperation to solve pressing environmental problems. He pointed out that the FRG also adopts environmental protection technology from the GDR. He cited sewage works in Duderstadt and Seesen in Lower Saxony as examples.

Minister Reichelt stressed that cooperation between the GDR and the FRG has developed rapidly since Erich Honecker's visit to the FRG in September 1987. Minister Toepfer also recalled the signing of the environment agreement during the Honecker visit.

On the same day, both ministers had signed in Bonn a joint statement on six environmental protection pilot projects in the GDR implementing this governmental agreement on environmental protection. Minister

Toepfer spoke of a true partnership with reference to these projects. He said that the GDR will make available an investment amount of around M470 million in order that the projects be implemented. The FRG intends to provide the most modern technology, to the value of around DM 300 million.

Experts point to the advantages of the pilot projects for citizens in both states. It is a case of processes to hold back or reclaim mercury from wate water in order to improve the Elbe's condition, technologies to reduce sulphur dioxide pollution in the air, and more effective energy creation in power stations by means of fluidized solids combustion.

In response to journalist's questions, Minister Reichelt reported the great GDR's efforts to keep the air clean and to protect the waters. Around M350 million has been used for waters protection to date, M110 million of this in 1987 and 1988 alone. The GDR takes environmental protection very seriously.

Both ministers today visited a station for the investigation of Rhine water in Mainz and met for technical talks on a monitoring vessel for water protection on the Rhine. In the evening the head of the GDR's Permanent Mission in the FRG, Ambassador Horst Neubauer, gave a reception for the GDR delegation, in which Federal Minister Toephfer, representatives of other ministeries, of the Federal Chancellor's Office and from research establishments and industry took part. [passage omitted]

Environment Fund Formed

LD0807114289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0907 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Hannover, (ADN)—Dr Hans Reichelt, GDR vice premier and minister for environmental protection and water management, was received in Hannover today by Dr Ernst Albrecht, prime minister of Lower Saxony and deputy chairman of the Christian Democratic Union. Minister Reichelt is in the Federal Republic within the framework of comprehensive bilateral talks on questions of cross border environmental protection. He has also met with Federal State Environment Minister Dr Werner Remmers.

After their talks, the two ministers signed a joint statement on forming an environment fund between the GDR and Lower Saxony, which contains measures for projects to keep the air and water clean.

Pollution Agreement Signed

LD0807135189 Hamburg DPA in German 1140 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Hannover (DPA)—The GDR and Lower Saxony agreed on Saturday to set up an environment fund and to provide it with M10 to 15 million. Joint projects in the GDR and Lower Saxony to keep cross-border air and waters clean are due to be financed from the fund.

At the signing of an agreement on this in Hannover, GDR Environment Minister Hans Reichelt and the Lower Saxony federal state government expressed their optimism about the solution of joint environmental problems. Reichelt and Lower Saxony Prime Minister Ernst Albrecht (CDU) [Christian Democratic Union] pointed out that numerous activities have been commenced since 1987. The efforts to combat environmental pollution and the necessary preventative measures are based on mutual give-and-take.

The first joint project of the environment fund is to be an installation to eliminate mercury in the GDR chemicals combine at Bitterfeld. Three tonnes of the annual 3.5 tonnes of mercury should thereby be held back. Reichelt calculated that the total costs for this would be around M24 million, of which the GDR will provide M14 million. Talks between experts on further projects for the period 1990 to 1995 are due to be conducted in August.

The agreement signed by Reichelt and his Lower Saxony counterpart, Werner Remmers, was prepared during talks between Albrecht and Remmers and the GDR party and state leader, Erich Honecker. The Lower Saxony federal state cabinet has decided to give the fund M10 million annually from next year. This share is due to be increased by M1.5 million annually from 1991.

On the desalination of the Werra and Weser rivers, Reichelt said that he hopes this problem will be solved as quickly as possible. The GDR minister and his hosts said they were pleased that the negotiations on this between Bonn and East Berlin are due to be continued.

Interflug Airbus Opens Berlin-Havana Service

AU0707135289 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 6 Jul 89 p 5

[ADN report: "Interflug Airbus for the First Time in Havana"]

[Text] Havana (ADN)—During the night of Tuesday to Wednesday [4-5 July], an Interflug Airbus landed for the first time at the "Jose Marti" Airport in Havana. This is the first time an A 310-Intercontinental, one of the 500 airbuses that has been built so far, has carried out a long-distance flight of almost 11 hours loaded to capacity. Thus, the GDR is the only socialist country to maintain a nonstop flight with Cuba.

Criminal Law Amendment Act Coming Into Force

AU0407151489 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 4 Jul 89 p 5

["Ws" report: "The GDR Makes the Occupation of Offices Punishable by Criminal Law"]

[Text] Berlin, 3 July—New criminal law regulations have come into force in the GDR. The fifth Criminal Law Amendment Act, which was passed by the People's Chamber last December, contains a total of 58 changes to the

GDR Penal Code. A number of these changes serve fulfill obligations from international law treaties and conventions, which the GDR has joined. Thus, the domestic penal regulations are harmonized with several international conventions on combating terrorism. Partly, however, the new legal stipulations are a reaction to new forms of crime resulting from technical development, such as the abuse of data processing. In general, the fifth Criminal Law Amendment Act constitutes a considerable expansion of criminal liability. Some new regulations protect the citizen from state excesses. However, the new regulations do not restrict political criminal law.

In the future, "torture or other cruel, inhuman, or humiliating treatment or punishment" will be prohibited and punishable by law in the GDR. Whoever tortures "in exercising state activities" will be punished with prison terms of up to 5 years, in serious cases of up to 10 years. Regulations on corruption have been differentiated and tightened. In serious cases, a prison term of up to 8 years is possible. A penal regulation against "accepting advantages" has been reintroduced. Whoever demands or accepts favors in return for official actions that were not in breach of one's duty can be punished with a prison term of up to 2 years. Inadmissible preference in handing out goods and services—which is an everyday occurrence in the socialist society of shortages—can be punished as an administrative offense.

Penal regulations for betraying secrets have been tightened. Whoever, as a person with access to secrets, reveals "state secrets"—a term which the GDR Penal Code did not know in the past—can expect a prison term of up to 5 years. So far, only state and economic organs were permitted to set down obligations for secrecy. In the future, heads of combines, enterprises, cooperatives, institutions, and social organizations also have the right to do so. Whoever "considerably endangers" the interests or the security of the GDR by betraying secrets or commits the deed "in striving for advantages", now can to expect a prison term of up to 10 years.

Transferring obligations incurred by the GDR in international treaties to domestic laws is served by the new Penal Code regulations on hostage taking—maximum penalty is a prison term of 10 years—hijacking of ships—maximum penalty is also 10 years—and an "attack on persons protected under international law". Whoever kidnaps, physically abuses, or illegally deprives a "person protected under international law" of his personal freedom can expect a prison term of up to 5 years. According to the new regulation, whoever makes a "violent attack" on the offices, private apartment, or the means of transportation of such a person will be punished. This not only fixes the protection of diplomats under international law in a penal law but makes, for instance, the occupation of offices of an embassy or of the FRG Permanent Mission in East Berlin by would-be emigrants punishable by law. Even the attempt of such "violent attacks" is now punishable.

The fifth Criminal Law Amendment Act adds five new sections and two paragraphs to former sections of the GDR Penal Code on the topic of data protection. Serious cases of data processing abuse can be punished with prison terms of up to 10 years. So far "speculative hoarding of goods" was a criminal offense in the GDR. Now this section has been expanded and is called "speculation". Now, whoever trades goods, products, or other articles, permits, or stamps without a permit or by abusing a permit, whoever "demands or collects inappropriately high interests (usury)" for loans, or whoever purchases or hoards raw materials or goods in amounts considerably beyond personal or business need, is punishable by law. In serious cases, the perpetrator is threatened with a prison term of up to 8 years. It is unclear whether with this regulation on "speculation" the GDR leadership wants to hit only the big speculators or really wants to abolish the everyday, unapproved trade of a society of shortages, like the one in the GDR, without which supplies to the population can be hardly ensured. However, such a regulation is remarkable at a time when private initiatives are promoted in other East European states.

Order of Day on 44th People's Police Anniversary

AU0507071189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1-2 Jul 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Order of the Day of the Interior Minister"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—In an order of the day, Army General Friedrich Dickel, minister of the interior and chief of the German People's Police, congratulated the members, civilian employees, and voluntary helpers of the German People's Police on the 44th anniversary of the German People's Police. "Our day of honor is fully characterized by the 40th anniversary of our worker-peasant state", the order of the day says. "Under the leadership of the party of the workers class, the members of the People's Police, too, are accomplishing outstanding achievements so that in our socialist fatherland the values, the vitality, and the attractiveness of socialism in the colors of the GDR become even more tangible for everyone".

The order of the day stresses that with a view to the 12th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], it is necessary to achieve excellent results everywhere in fulfilling the tasks to strengthen and protect the worker-peasant power. Safeguarding peace and order, as well as the security of the citizens, and protecting their lives and their health are the supreme command. Enforcing law and order requires from every people's policeman exemplary actions and close cooperation with the social forces. On the occasion of their day of honor, the members of the German People's Police and the other organs of the Ministry of the Interior assure the SED Central Committee and its general secretary, Erich Honecker, that they will continue to fulfill the class assignment they have been given.

SED Committee Greets Police

AU0507073789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1-2 Jul 89 p 2

[Greetings message from the SED Central Committee, signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker, to the German People's Police on its 44th anniversary: "Protecting the Worker-Peasant Power With High Readiness for Action"]

[Text] Comrade Minister; Comrades policemen, noncommissioned officers, officers, and generals; Comrades civilian employees, voluntary helpers of the German People's Police, and members of the voluntary fire brigades:

The Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] conveys to you cordial greetings and congratulations on the 44th anniversary of the German People's Police.

The German People's Police and the other organs of the Ministry of the Interior have always ensured public order and security, and done so in close cooperation with the other protective, security, and state organs, as well as with all social forces. With high readiness for action, you have reliably protected our worker-peasant power, enforced socialist laws, and ensured our country's citizens a life in peace and security. With this, you are making an important contribution to consolidating peace, to strengthening socialism, and to the affinity between party, state, and people.

The SED Central Committee expresses its thanks and appreciation to you, comrade minister, the party organizations, all members, civilian employees, and voluntary workers of the People's Police, and of the other organs of the Ministry of the Interior.

In the struggles of our time, the German People's Police and the other organs of the Ministry of the Interior prove to be an indispensable force for strengthening our socialist state and social system, and for not giving any chance to the attacks by the enemies of socialism on the political stability of the German worker-peasant state. By including the working people more and more comprehensively in consolidating our socialist legal system, you are essentially contributing to perfecting our socialist democracy.

We are convinced that also in the 40th year of the existence of our socialist fatherland, you will fulfill the class assignment of the protective and security organs with dedication and discipline. The leading role of the party of the workers class in all offices, units, and schools; revolutionary vigilance; clear political and moral attitudes; and initiative-rich actions remain the indispensable preconditions for this.

The SED Central Committee wishes you much success, energy, and steadfastness, as well as good health and well-being for your families.

With socialist greetings,

SED Central Committee
E. Honecker
General secretary.
Berlin, 1 July 1989.

The GDR Council of Ministers has also sent congratulations.

Bush Arrives in Hungary for 'Historic' Visit

Bush Welcomed in Kossuth Square

LD1107234389 Budapest MTI in English
2050 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 11 (MTI)—As reported, President George Bush and his wife were ceremonially received on Tuesday [11 July] in Kossuth Square in front of the House of Parliament.

In spite of the rain that again began to fall, around 10,000 people were there to greet President Bush. People held aloft flags and banners, some of which were Hungarian flags with the Kossuth coat of arms sewn in the middle. Several slogans on the banners were about Transylvania. One read: "The fate of Transylvania is in the hands of the great powers". Many banners cheered President Bush.

Present to greet the President in the square, which was adorned with American and Hungarian flags, were the members of the Presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party: Rezso Nyers, Karoly Grosz, Miklos Nemeth and Imre Pozsgay. Also present were Matyas Szuros, speaker of the National Assembly, Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, and Minister of Trade Tamas Beck.

F Bruno Straub welcomed the President and his wife.

President Bush followed the speech with great attention, with his wife holding an umbrella over his head. However, the President soon decided rather to stand in the pouring rain. When Mr Straub ended his speech, President Bush stepped up to the microphones, accompanied by rapturous applause.

The American President, visibly moved by the extremely warm welcome, took of his raincoat after delivering his speech and stepped down from the dais. He shook hands with several people standing in the first row, and then gave his coat to an elderly woman, Mrs S. Horvath. The American President and his wife, and Mr Straub and his wife then drove to gate I of the parliament building. Although the guard of honour was lined up, the planned military honours did not take place. As was announced at the international press centre, the two chiefs of protocol agreed about this in view of the extremely inclement weather.

Straub Gives Speech on Bush Arrival

LD1107202189 Budapest MTI in English
1839 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 11 (MTI)—On Tuesday in Budapest, President Bush and his wife arrived in Kossuth Square for a ceremonious reception. Speeches were delivered by Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council, and President Bush. Here follow the speeches.

Welcoming the President of the United States of America and Mrs Bush, Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, said:

'I should like to welcome you to Hungary with the greatest respect on behalf of the leadership of the Hungarian People's Republic and the Hungarian people.

'This is the first time the President of the United States of America has paid an official visit to Hungary, and we are convinced this event carries a message for the whole world. Our interpretation of the message is that the United States has realized the historical importance of the Hungarian evolution process, and this presidential visit aims to express the sympathy and support of the American people. We receive similar words of encouragement from East and West alike, and we need these very much indeed, because now, as always, our people can only expect to advance if their endeavours are supported by other people.

'Mr President,

'I think the fact that these welcoming remarks are being delivered in front of Lajos Kossuth's statue, in the square bearing his name, is symbolic.

'We refer to the historic process that took place in Hungary in the first half of the 19th century as the 'reform era', and Lajos Kossuth was the outstanding politician of that era. A straight path led from the reform era to the revolution of 1848-1849. The freedom fight and repression that followed its putting down resulted in a tremendous loss of blood to the country. Many people of the highest integrity who survived were forced to emigrate. Those difficult times were ultimately brought to an end with a 'reconciliation' that paved the way for the social and economic development of the country.

'We are now going through another reform era in Hungary, but it is our firm belief the historic order of events will be different this time. We have recovered from our loss of blood, have buried our dead, and finally paid our tributes. Reconciliation comes next. This is what the Hungarian people, and all political and social forces that feel responsibility towards the nation, expect. Only the broadest of cooperation, only a true national consensus, can ensure a Hungary that is European not only in the geographic sense of the word, but one which lives up to the standards linked for centuries to the epithet 'European' in terms of social structure, democracy, freedom and liberty, economic and cultural development.'

'It is almost six years now since you, Mr President, then as vice president of the United States, visited our country. International politics were then characterized by a freeze in the relations between the two big powers and an almost total lack of East-West dialogue.

'The world has come on a long way in those six years. Soviet-American dialogue has become continuous, and we can see promising developments in arms control and the settling of regional crises. The Helsinki process has advanced, too. Historic changes are unfolding in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. All this secures favourable conditions for the reforms in Hungary. Therefore, through our foreign policy activities, we are striving to contribute to making the promising international trends irreversible. We strive for dialogue, contacts and mutually beneficial cooperation with any country that is willing.

'We attribute special importance to broadening Hungarian-American relations, and we are sure that your visit, Mr President, will provide the encouragement needed.

'Honourable Mr President and Mrs Bush,

'I very much hope you will find your time here profitable and enjoyable. I hope you will get to know the way our people live and think, and the endeavours the leaders of this country are making. I am sure you will enjoy traditional Hungarian hospitality.'

Bush, Straub Begin Talks

LD1107234589 Budapest MTI in English 2103 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 11 (MTI)—Following the reception in Kossuth Square, President Bush was accompanied to Nandorfehervar Hall in the Hungarian House of Parliament, where Bruno Straub, accompanied by Laszlo Kovacs, secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry, showed him the frescoes of the hall.

He referred to the importance of the Battle of Nandorfehervar in the history of the Hungarian people. After this short familiarization, the guests and hosts sat down to begin talks. An American correspondent fired a question at the President: "Did you bring money to Hungary, sir?" But the President did not answer.

Informal talks then began, and lasted for about thirty minutes.

Straub, Bush 'Informal' Talk Reported

LD1107213189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2000 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] In parliament building's Nandorfehervar Hall, the United States' President and the Presidential Council president held a brief discussion. The talks between Bruno F. Straub and Bush were informal, they took place without interpreters, and at them Bruno F. Straub expressed his hope that insofar as the U.S. President became acquainted with our plans, the United States would probably support the reform processes all the more. Bush said that he showed great interest in the reforms, but with the visit, he does not wish to cause any problems in the relationships the socialist countries have with one another. Only now is he really experiencing, after the visit to Poland, he said, how very variegated East Europe is. Gorbachev's visits to Western Europe and his trips, the U.S. President added, do not constitute rivalry; his conviction is that these visits will have a favorable impact on East-West cooperation.

Gala Dinner Begins

LD1107203989 Budapest MTI in English 1930 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 11 (MTI)—Following the reception ceremony in Kossuth Square, President Bush met F. Bruno Straub in Nandorfehervar Hall in the house of parliament for a cordial talk.

While the President of the United States and the president of the Presidential Council were holding talks about President's planned itinerary in Budapest, and on the developing relations between the two countries, guests were assembling for the gala dinner in the Cupola Hall of parliament. The guests at the gala dinner, hosted by the Presidental Council, the Council of Ministers and the Presidium of the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], represented all strata of Hungarian society, and included representatives of the opposition roundtable and the Hungarian churches.

The gala dinner began at 8.45 pm. HSWP President Rezso Nyers delivered the first toast.

Leaders Attend Dinner for Bush

LD1107231389 Budapest MTI in English 2123 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 11 (MTI)—Talks between President Bush and Bruno Straub were still in progress in Nandorfehervar hall of parliament when guests invited to the gala dinner began to assemble. The dinner was hosted in honour of President and Mrs Bush by the Hungarian Presidential Council, the Council of Ministers and the Presidium of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP].

In the Cupola Hall, Rezso Nyers, HSWP President, Karoly Grosz, HSWP General Secretary, and Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and his wife, welcomed President and Mrs Bush.

Seated at the main table in Hunter's Hall were Bruno Straub and his wife, Gertrud Szabolcsi, President Bush and his wife, Barbara Bush, Rezso Nyers, Karoly Grosz, and Miklos Nemeth and his wife, Erzsebet Szilagyi.

Present at the gala dinner were, from the Hungarian part, Matyas Szuros, speaker of parliament, minister of State Imre Pozsgay, Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy,

Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, and several other members of the government, Vencel Hazi, Hungarian ambassador to Washington, and representatives of the Hungarian churches and the leading representatives of the opposition roundtable. Also present were many representatives of Hungarian scientific, cultural and commercial life.

From the American part, the dinner was attended by Secretary of State James Baker, Mark Palmer, ambassador of the United States to Budapest, John Sununu, White House chief of staff, Brent Scowcroft, national security advisor, Marlin Fitzwater, White House spokesman, and many other members of President Bush's entourage. Also present were leading staff-members of the American Embassy in Budapest.

Mr Nyers delivered the first toast at the gala dinner.

Mr Bush delivered his reply toast.

Nyers Gives Dinner Toast

LD1107205489 Budapest MTI in English 1925 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 11 (MTI)—On Tuesday evening in Budapest, at the gala dinner hosted in honour of President George Bush and his wife in the parliament building, Rezso Nyers, president of the HSWP, [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party], delivered the following toast.

'It is for the first time in our history that we can be host to a delegation led by the number one leader of the American people. I should like to welcome you with the greatest respect and friendship to our capital city and to our parliament building on the River Danube.

'A host of bonds born from the dynamism of scientific, cultural and business activities link the Hungarian and American peoples, and we should like to multiply and strengthen these bonds. We are linked by a respect for the ideals of freedom and independence, the bridges created by many events in our history, and by the large number of Hungarian Americans.

'I well remember the evening of January 6, 1978, when hundreds of thousands of people in Budapest settled in front of their tv sets to witness a historic event: the restitution of the crown of the Hungarian kings and the coronation regalia. The coming home of our national relics was an outstanding milestone in the history of Hungarian-American relations.

'We have now come to another milestone, and the magnitude of the growd gathered in Kossuth Square tonight bore witness to its importance. The people of Hungary know, and feel, that the cooperation between Hungary and the United States, as well as the continuation and further development of unhindered good relations, constite one of the keys to our prosperity as a nation. The various political forces represented here tonight are fully aware of this fact, and they know that the united and peaceful efforts are necessary from us Hungarians as well to make good use of international resources.

'The several thousand miles and the vast ocean between us cannot separate our two countries if the will to cooperate is there in our minds.

'We should like to see the intentions to "discover Hungary economically and culturally" strengthened on the other side of the atlantic.

'Our country is now in a state of radical transformation and renewal. We have launched a far-reaching process of democratization, with this very building, the house of parliament, serving as one of its theatres. We can, and should, draw to a large extent on the secular traditions of parliamentary democracies in the unfolding of the pluralism and the accomplishment of a state governed by laws. Therefore, we also wish to make use of the experiences of American democratic evolution and institutions, the affinity for enterprise and the famous American practical- mindedness'.

'We are now convinced that the reform of the Hungarian economy and the steps we have taken to build a market economy offer favourable terms for American enterprise. We are counting on the opportunities of international cooperation to achieve a recovery in our economy, and to create modern, competitive structures, and we attribute special importance to the United States' taking an increasing role.

'Mr President,

'You will meet friends throughout your stay in Hungary. You will sit down at the negotiating table with Hungarian party and government leaders who strive to lend, in accordance with the process of internal political and economic reforms, even more openness to Hungarian foreign policy. I trust you will come into contact as broad a segment of our society as possible, and I know you will get a most friendly welcome.

'The changes that have occurred in international relations in recent years provide invaluable support to our reform endeavours. We welcome the dialogue created between the two big powers and the sustained improvement of their relationship. The relations between the Soviet Union and your country are a determining factor also in the evolution of the situation in Europe, which is of vital importance to us. These days, we often refer to the notion of a common European house. We are glad to participate in the construction of this house. We want a house where expression is free and trade is free, and people wishing to migrate do not come up against barriers all the time. Furthermore, we would like a house with free and intensive contacts with the other parts of the world, a house in which Europeans live but do not lock themselves up in their own house.

'Honoured guests,

'I very much hope you enjoy your stay in Hungary, and that your meetings and talks will strengthen relations between our two countries, broaden our cooperation, promote friendship between, and serve the further rise of, our two peoples. I sincerely hope that the experience you gain from your visit will convince you that the endeavours of the people of this small country are worthy not only of attention, but also of support.

'I raise my glass to the good health of you, Mr President, and you, Mrs Bush, and of all our esteemed American guests, to the prosperity of the American people, to the further improvement of Hungarian-American relations, and to peace.'

Fitzwater Gives News Conference

LD1107231789 Budapest MTI in English 2105 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 11 (MTI)—'President Bush was deeply moved by the extremely cordial and warm reception he received in Budapest', said White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater on Tuesday evening in Budapest.

As the press conference of the White House was held at the same time the gala dinner was going on in parliament, this was all the spokesman had to say for the time being about the Hungarian part of the President's tour. Mr Fitzwater added that President Bush was looking forward to his talks on Wednesday with great expectations.

The American spokesman summarized the main events of the President's visit to Poland, especially stressing that Poland has set out on the road to economic and political reforms. The greatest impression left on the President was that the Polish people wish to leave behind the past, and wish firmly to begin on the road to building a new social order.

Mr Fitzwater spoke in detail about the meeting between President Bush and Lech Walesa, and said that the Solidarity leader again raised the point that his country would need 10,000 million dollars in economic assistance. The American President did not exclude business circles of the United States providing in the coming years genuinely considerable support to Poland, but he said this could only be realized through private investments. The main goal could be to give support of this nature to the new elements of the Polish economy, to the private ventures.

Kovacs Holds Press Briefing

LD1107231489 Budapest MTI in English 2212 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 11 (MTI)—Laszlo Kovacs, secretary of state at the Hungarian Foreign Ministry, reported on the first day of President Bush's visit to Budapest at a briefing held in the International Press Centre late on Tuesday evening. Mr Kovacs said that at the extremely cordial talks held with Bruno Straub, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's republic, President Bush had strongly emphasized that the American leadership follows the development of Hungarian reforms with attention and sympathy. The United States strives to develop its relations with Hungary.

The president immediately added that, "in no way do I wish to cause a problem with this visit for Mikhail Gorbachev, or a problem in the relationship between Hungary and the Soviet Union, between Hungary and its allies", Mr Kovacs said. President Bush said that his visits to Eastern Europe, and the visit of Mr Gorbachev to the FRG and France, "cannot be considered as some sort of rivalry": these form a part of the improving East-West relations, and the improvement of Soviet-American relations has a beneficial effect on the situation of all countries, on international relations in general.

President Bush underlined the fact that his visits to Poland and Hungary had convinced him that Eastern Europe is different from the earlier conceptions of the American leadership. Eastern Europe is a diverse region, in which all countries progress on their own roads, Mr Kovacs quoted the American President as saying.

In the course of the talks, Mr Straub spoke in appreciation of the visit and stressed that this visit in itself meant considerable moral and political support to Hungary. He spoke about the Hungarian economic and political reform processes, and stressed this is an unparalleled experiment.

The president of the Presidential Council expressed his hope that after President Bush has been more thoroughly familiarized with the country's situation and its efforts by meeting with the Hungarian leaders and the newly set-up political parties, groups and alternative organizations, he will probably find all the efforts worthy of support. Although we ourselves have to solve our problems, Mr Straub said, assistance is extremely important to Hungary, as a small and open country.

Bush-Nemeth Talks Begin 12 Jul

LD1207114589 Budapest MTI in English 1023 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 12 (MTI)—George Bush, president of the United States of America, held talks with Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, in the House of Parliament of Wednesday morning.

The meeting was attended by Gyula Horn, Foreign Minister, Tamas Beck, Minister of Trade, Erno Kemenes, President of the National Planning Office, State Secretary Miklos Raft, Chairman of the Office of the Council of Ministers, and Laszlo Kovacs. The U.S. President was accompanied by James Baker, John Sununu, Brent Scowcroft and Marlin Fitzwater.

Also present were Ambassador Vencel Hazi and Mark Palmer.

Bush Begins Talks With Szuros

LD1207114289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1000 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Correspondent Elemer Csak report]

[Excerpt] After an hour-long discussion with Hungarian Socialist Workers Party leaders, the U.S. delegation walked over to the Delegates' Hall of Parliament to talk with Miklos Nemeth. The discussions there lasted nearly an hour.

At the end of this session the Hungarian head of government surprised the U.S. delegation with an unexpected gift. This was indeed unexpected; it was not set forth in advance by protocol. Miklos Nemeth handed the President a piece of the Iron Curtain, a bit of the barbed wire fence which was dismantled on the Hungarian- Austrian border. It was specially shaped to form a gift with the legend on it: We would hope that there never be a need for such a thing. Secretary of State Baker also received one. Bush was visibly touched by this kind souvenir. He kept saying: Excellent, excellent. Meanwhile, he made sure that the U.S. television cameras, too, could view and read the gift with its legend.

The next talks began in the office of Matyas Szuros, speaker of the National Assembly, while parallel with this Gyula Horn and James Baker sat down to negotiate separately. Following this, in the parliament building the two foreign ministers signed four agreements: on civil passenger aviation, foreign tourism, agricultural cooperation, and U.S. participation in the restructuring of industry in Borsod County.

Bush Meets With Nyers, Grosz

LD1207093889 Budapest MTI in English 0758 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 12 (MTI)—George Bush, President of the United States of America, started his work programme in the parliament building of Budapest Wednesday morning. First he met President Rezso Nyers and General Secretary Karoly Grosz of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. The meeting was attended by Gyula Horn, foreign minister, Laszlo Kovacs, state secretary of foreign affairs, and Gyula Thurmer, foreign policy advisor to the HSWP general secretary, on the Hungarian side, and James Baker, secretary of state, William Sununu, White House chief of staff, Brent Scowcroft, national security advisor, and Marlin Fitzwater, White House spokesman, on the U.S. side. Present at the event were Vencel Hazi, Hungarian ambassador to the United States, and Mark Palmer, U.S. ambassador to Hungary.

After exchanging cordial greetings, the politicians started their talks which, as usual, were no longer attended by the media.

Bush, Baker Meet With Pozsgay, Kovacs

LD1207145289 Budapest MTI in English 1421 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 12 (MTI)—US President George Bush and State Minister Imre Pozsgay started talks at the residence of the US ambassador to Hungary on Wednesday afternoon.

The discussion was attended by James Baker, US secretary of state, Mark Palmer, US ambassador to Hungary, and Laszlo Kovacs, under-secretary of the state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Bush Meets With Opposition Groups

LD1207152689 Budapest MTI in English 1447 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 12 (MTI)—Following the meeting between President George Bush and Minister of State Imre Pozsgay, the President began talks with representatives of the Hungarian opposition organizations, in the residence of the American ambassador to Hungary. The organizations represented are the Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky Friendship Society, the Federation of Young- Democrats (Fidesz), the Independent Lawyers' Forum, the Independent Smallholders', Landworkers' and Bourgeois Party, the Democratic League of Independent Trade Unions, the Christian Democratic People's Party, the Hungarian Democratic Forum, the Hungarian People's Party, the Alliance of Free Democrats, and the Committee for Historical Justice.

Leaders Hold News Conference

LD1207144689 Budapest MTI in English 1408 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 12 (MTI)—During his noon press conference, Laszlo Kovacs, under-secretary of state at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, said that President Bush met HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party] President Rezso Nyers and HSWP General Secretary Karoly Grosz, Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Matyas Szuros, president of the National Assembly. The two foreign ministers also met separately.

The Hungarian leaders stressed that the coming months would be crucial for the reform process. They stressed that the HSWP and the Hungarian Government attach utmost importance to the peaceful nature of transition and, therefore, strive to create partnership relations with the new parties and movements. The HSWP has no intention to abuse its present positions of power and influence the transitory process by any violent ways and means.

The Hungarian leaders pointed out that after the elections, a stable, self-assured government might come into existence. They stressed that the government should certainly include the HSWP, which initiated the changes and has since been in the lead of reform. Attention was called to the potential danger of destabilization not only in Hungary but also in the entire East European region, and which may have an adverse effect on the Soviet-U.S. relations as well.

Rezso Nyers gave a briefing on the HSWP's internal position, stressing that the disputes dividing the party's unison are over, and the personnel set-up of the Presidium also guarantees agreement and unity.

All Hungarian leaders agreed that we have to solve our problems on our own, but also with reliance on international support and experience, although we do not wish to copy experiences born under different circumstances.

George Bush stressed the U.S. intention to support the Hungarian reform process, while avoiding even the appearance of interference. The United States is willing to provide access to some of its experiences adaptable to the reform of the systems of political and economic institutions, but it wants in no way to aggravate the progress of Hungarian reforms.

Mr Bush said the United States would be willing to provide support also in a broader context, at the Paris summit of the most advanced countries or in the encouragement of foreign investments in general.

Matyas Szuros, president of the National Assembly, stressed that Hungary feels responsibility for the Hungarians living beyond the borders, and asked the U.S. President to use its leverage against human rights violations in any part of the world.

Trade Agreements Signed

LD1207155889 Budapest MTI in English
1436 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 12 (MTI-ECONEWS)—On the occasion of President Bush's visit to Hungary, Hungarian-U.S. agreements on air traffic, tourism, trade development programmes and agriculture were signed on Wednesday in Budapest. The President also announced several other packages at the speech he made at Karl Marx University of Economics this afternoon.

The President said that the United States is opening a 25- million-dollars foundation for backing Hungarian private enterprises. In addition, he said that he would ask the U.S. Congress to appropriate $5 million to establish an international environmental centre for central and Eastern Europe to tbe based in Budapest and, as the United States is committing more than $6 million to cultural and educational opportunities in Eastern Europe, the government will make funds available for a series of U.S.- Hungarian exchange programmes among legislators, labour and business leaders, legal experts, community leaders, educators and young people.

The agricultural agreement says that the parties want to develop contacts in the field of water management, forestry, plant production, animal husbandry, and other fields. They will exchange data and prognoses concerning the production use of, and trade in, main crops. In the tourism field, they will improve the possibilities for citizens of both countries to travel to one the other's country, and develop tourism trade, too.

The spokesman for the Hungarian Foreign Ministry confirmed on Wednesday morning that, following the President's talks, Hungary's chances of getting the unlimited MFN [most-favored nation] status from the United States were increased, and congressional approval and the government announcement about including Hungary in the GSP [generalized system of preferences] and OPIC [overseas private investment corporation] is also upcoming.

Sununu Briefs Press on Visit

LD1207134189 Budapest MTI in English
1224 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 12 (MTI)—On behalf of the U.S. delegation, John Sununu, White House chief of staff, informed journalists about the talks held this morning and Mr Bush's position.

Mr Sununu termed the discussions between the U.S. President and the Hungarian leaders as of very good atmosphere and useful. Mr Bush showed great interest in the Hungarian political and economic reforms and expressed the intention of the United States to provide support for Hungary in carrying out the changes under way.

Mr Sununu confirmed that President Bush's East European trip is not aimed at attaining any change in the alliance systems and in Soviet-U.S. relations. The President stressed during his talks with Hungarian leaders that he and Mikhail Gorbachev do not regard such visits as some sort of "rivalry". Gorbachev's visit to the Federal Republic of Germany and France served the development of favourable relations as well as the U.S. President's East European trip. In this context, Mr Bush stated he attached great importance to the changes in the Soviet Union and wished them success in implementing perestroyka.

Mr Sununu also quoted the President as saying that the United States by no means wishes to interfere in the internal affairs of the countries visited. On taking office, the President pointed out his endeavour to uphold development towards democratization throughout the world.

Mr Sununu announced that President Bush would call on his partners at the Paris summit of the seven leading capitalist states jointly to support the East European economic processes.

'Reciprocity Rather Than Cash'

AU1207123689 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 11 Jul 89 p 1

[Text] More than 200 years have passed without a U.S. president being welcomed in Hungary. President George Bush can call his visit to Budapest today a "historic" one also on account of this late first visit.

We would like this image, however, of the presence of the U.S. President here to have a place in the manuals of diplomatic colleges as the first event of a real historic change. If this change had to be formulated in one sentence, it would sound like this: The most progressive countries in Eastern Europe should escape from the enemy image created more or less justifiably by the West after World War II.

What right does a member of the Warsaw Pact, CEMA, and of the "Eastern bloc" have to demand being promoted from enemy to friend? It has such a right on account of common cultural traditions, the pluralistic political order which is a completely new development in this region, and of the demand for mutual withdrawal of troops. Our current political and moral values are much closer to the Western values than the values of some countries which have been supported by Washington with hundreds of millions of dollars for years, as political and military allies.

No matter how widespread the misconception is that one has to weigh the results of the visit in cash, the stakes of this visit is winning reciprocity from the world's leading power, rather than cash. This reciprocity can also be expressed in the fact that we are talking about the most-favored-nation trade treatment, U.S. Government guarantees, and about capital investments, while financial benefits are not excluded at all. This should be both historical and political reciprocity. Perhaps our guests do not take it as an offense if we remind them that, in its own way and at the time, our small country did not spare any means when the United States needed help, a country honored as the new homeland of freedom; Hungarian hussars also fought in the War of Independence; there were many Hungarian scientists among the leaders of the Manhattan-project, which, according to U.S. historians, put an end to World War II; and that while the United States gave our modern technical civilization the telephone, little Hungary gave it the dynamo.

We know that the U.S. President arrives to Budapest as a thinking American, and therefore this demand for reciprocity cannot be alien to him. If it is so, nothing can prevent his visit from being a historic one not only for the Hungarian side but also for the U.S. side, and not only for the East but also the West.

Press Facilities for Bush Visit Described

LD1107175689 Budapest MTI in English 1730 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Budapest, July 11 (MTI)—The international press centre in the Pesti Vigado (Pest Concert Hall) is operating at full steam on Tuesday, the day President Bush is to arrive for his visit to Hungary.

According to information compiled a few hours before the visit starts, about 1,900 press cards were issued, most of them to correspondents, and quite a few to technical crews—the major American and international television companies, for instance, which are to provide live coverage of the visit, arrived in Budapest with large crews and will also make use of the help of Hungarian technical staff.

Naturally, the American group is the largest in the army of press covering the visit: a total of 729 accreditation requests arrived from the United States. The Hungarian press is in second place, with 620 press cards. The FRG will have 101 correspondents covering the event, and the British press, radio and television requested, and received, 81 accreditations.

The opposition and independent press have received accreditation for the first time. These include correspondents of "KIS UJSAG", the newspaper of the smallholders' party, "HITEL" (credit) and "VILAG" (world). Two new ventures are also covering the visit: Radio Bridge, the English-language radio beginning its trial broadcasts, and Balaton channel, the television station operating in Siofok.

Postal services are being increasingly utilized. A point of interest: Japanese correspondents write their reports by hand and forward their copy in characters by telefax from the press centre. A great number of calls have been made to the FRG and Great Britain. Correspondents have received appropriate working rooms with modern equipment. Telephone, telex and telefax services are being manned around the clock to cope with the various time zones of the world.

Several television companies have set up cameras in front of the press centre and the Budapest hotels, and correspondents will have one of the finest Budapest panoramas as a background for their reports.

Bush Continues Visit, Sees Walesa in Gdansk

Cultural Exchange, Debt Documents Signed

LD1007124189 Warsaw PAP in English
0832 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 10: A Polish-American agreement on the mutual creation of culture and information centres and two documents on consolidating and rescheduling debt were signed at the Belvedere.

The three documents were signed by Tadeusz Olechowski and James A. Baker.

Welcomed to Gdansk by Olechowski

LD1107115589 Warsaw PAP in English
1042 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Gdansk, July 11—Air Force One with President Bush aboard touched down at the Rebiechowo Airport here shortly before 11:30 hrs.

The President, his wife and accompanying persons were welcomed at the airport by Minister of Foreign Affairs Tadeusz Olechowski with wife and by the town and region authorities as well as representatives of the naval force command.

Walesa Comments Prior to Visit

LD1107142289 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
2123 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] [Announcer] Here is what Lech Walesa had to say on the subject of President Bush's visit to our reporter:

[Begin recording] [Unidentified reporter] Tomorrow you will have an opportunity to meet President Bush. What would you like to discuss with him, above all?

[Walesa] In the spirit we presented just after the round table, abroad and in Poland, thus: It is necessary and worthwhile to help Poland; Poland entered the road of reforms. There are great dangers here. I see both mistakes and deep wisdom in reform, but most of all, greater wisdom in reform, as far as balance is concerned: balancing political and economic reform.

If this balance is not maintained, then look what happened in China, for example. The economic issues were not balanced in China, for example. The economic issues were not balanced properly with the political ones, resulting in tragedy. In Poland, it is also becoming dangerous, because we do not have this balance. It is vice versa here: Political subjects have taken lead over the economic ones. Here President Bush's visit and talks [changes thought]—I would wish to convince them to help us make this adjustment of the economic issues with the political ones; otherwise we also are threatened.

Bush Meets Walesa

LD1107162189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1515 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Just before 1130 at Gdansk Rebiechoso Airport, a special plane with President George Bush landed. The column of cars set off for Oliwa Cathedral. After visiting this splendid sanctuary and listening to an organ concert the President signed the commemorative book: With expressions of respect and Christian love, George and Barbara Bush. Later the esteemed guests left for lunch at Mr and Mrs Walesa's. In the garden of their house the President held a private talk with his host. Afterwards the cavalcade of cars drove through the streets of Gdansk to the Monument to the Fallen Shipyard Workers. Flowers were laid there. Lech Walesa and President Bush spoke.

[Begin recording] [Walesa] Ladies and gentlemen, I have lived through 25 years in Gdansk and have never seen anything like this. There have been many heads of state, there were many ceremonies but it was never so great and so warm as it is today.

[Bush in English with superimposed Polish translation] Hello, Lech Walesa; hello to Solidarity, hello Polska [preceding word in Polish]. [end recording]

Walesa Speaks at Rally for Bush

LD1107151589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1340 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] The U.S. guest and the chairman of Solidarity arrived at the monument of the shipyard workers several minutes after 1400 [1200 GMT]. There was a ceremony to lay flowers at the monument. Lech Walesa then started his speech. Here are excerpts of the Solidarity chairmen's speech:

[Begin Walesa recording] On behalf of you all, so tired of waiting, I welcome you, Mr President, your wife and all honorable guests. [applause] Mr President, we are standing on a spot which is a significant place for Poles. We are grateful to you, Mr President, to your wife, and to all American personalities that you were willing to come right here, to the monument to the fallen shipyard workers, who fell for bread and freedom. [applause] A dramatic challenge of fate decreed that just on this spot, where man shot a man, Solidarity was born. Mr President, you know our winding and difficult road, which has not reached its end yet because we continue to face very difficult tasks. If those Polish travails have not discouraged us from action, then it was to a large extent thanks to a conviction that we are not alone, that we can count on friends and on their solidarity with us. [applause]

Today we are in a situation in which political reforms are rapidly accelerating. This was necessary because you cannot make a worker out of a slave, [applause] and also because in contemporary civilisation progress cannot

endure the constraints of monopoly. Therefore we are in the process of disposing of our burden of totalitarian Stalinism and we are attempting to catch up with Europe, which is running away from us, and with the whole developed world.

We are making our way towards democracy and pluralism. The nature of things, however, demands that a balance be kept between political and economic reforms. Changes must take place in both areas at the same time and in a parallel fashion. The Chinese experience teaches us that lack of respect for the proportions leads to a Tiananmen Square.

If we wish our Solidarity Square [nasz Plac Solidarnosci] to remain in the memory of generations to come as a place of hope, we must all strive to ensure that the sudden political acceleration is accompanied by an economic acceleration. The people who are today standing around the monument are good workers, just as millions of Polish men and women are. The United States—as is true of all of Europe—is capable of influencing, through its economic policies, the course of our reforms; it can ensure that millions of hands do not perform useless work, that a healthy cooperation develops between our enterprises, and finally that the lack of an efficient economic reform does not destabilize this part of the world. This would be dangerous not only for Poland, but for other countries as well. It would be a disaster for democracy.

I express my own hope and that of millions of Poles that you, sir, will leave Poland convinced that our country should be helped and is worth helping. [applause] I believe that the ties between our two nations will be given a new impetus and that, even more than hitherto, Solidarity will become a rallying call for Poles and Americans. [applause]

God Bless America! [previous sentence in English] May God bless our countries. [end recording]

Walesa Spokesman Comments

LD1107193789 Warsaw PAP in English 1830 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Gdansk, July 11—Piotr Nowina-Konopka, spokesman for chairman of the independent self-governing trade union Solidarity Lech Walesa, met here today with Polish and foreign journalists.

President Bush's visit to Gdansk was an extraordinary event. Poland's ties with the United States were reflected in the atmosphere of the meeting at the monument to the fallen shipyard workers, he said.

The spokesman said that Lech Walesa briefed George Bush on his stand on the current Polish problems and fears caused by incoherence—according to evaluations of Solidarity—in political and economic progress.

We hope that the President's conviction as to granting assistance to Poland will become an impulse also for other Western states. Lech Walesa presented to President Bush our idea of an international programme of assistance to Poland, the spokesman said.

The six points presented by George Bush at the Sejm are an important idea, and of interest to Poland. We hope that these will not be the only sums and projects. We especially count on this taking place after the Paris summit, said Lech Walesa's spokesman.

PAP Describes Gdansk Activities

LD1207004589 Warsaw PAP in English 2040 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Gdansk, July 11—President of the United States George Bush, accompanied by his wife, today wound up his official visit to Poland paid at the invitation from President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski.

The American guest and his entourage visited Gdansk today.

Directly after arrival in Gdansk, the U.S. President was led around the cathedral in the district of Oliwa and met with ordinary of the Gdansk Diocese, Bishop Tadeusz Goclowski. Next, the President and Mrs Barbara Bush had luncheon with Lech Walesa and Mrs Danuta Walesa at their house in Oliwa.

President Bush, together with Lech Walesa, laid flowers at the monument to fallen shipyard workers. The two delivered speeches to Gdansk residents attending the ceremony.

In the afternoon, at the Rebiechowo Airport, President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski and Mrs Jaruzelski bid farewell to President George Bush and Mrs Bush.

Air Force One with President Bush landed at the Rebiechowo Airport at 11:25 here today. The President was greeted by Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs Tadeusz Olechowski and by the city fathers.

After a brief welcoming ceremony the presidential motorcade left for Oliwa, an old suburb of Gdansk, residence of Gdansk bishops.

In front of the Oliwa Cathedral the President and Mrs Bush were greeted by ordinary of the Gdansk Diocese, Bishop Tadeusz Goclowski, who after a short conversation led the visitors around the cathedral. The cathedral is famous for its 18th century organ made by Cystercian Jan Wulf of Orneta. Eight thousand pipes make it possible to produce a unique sound, emphasized by the excellent acoustics of the cathedral's walls. President Bush devoted much attention to the instrument and listened to a short concert performed by Professor Leon Bator.

After bidding farewell to the hosts, the President and his entourage left for Lech Walesa's home.

Bishop Goclowski Describes Talk

After the departure of President Bush, Bishop Goclowski told journalists: In the talk with the President I referred to his extraordinary and praiseworthy ability of linking serious problems of this world with religious motivations.

The meeting passed in a climate of extreme simplicity and at the same time made it possible to raise all basic problems which might be of interest to the President of the United States and to a bishop living in a specific Polish climate.

In Walesa's Home

The presidential limousine needed less than five minutes to cover the distance between the Oliwa Cathedral and the home of Solidarity leader Lech Walesa who, together with his wife, entertained the President and his wife to a luncheon.

At Monument to Fallen Dockers

Several thousand Gdansk residents awaiting George Bush and Lech Walesa at the square opposite the Lenin Shipyard's Gate Number 2, where the monument to the fallen dockers is situated, gave both a warm welcome.

Assisted by dockers clad in their overalls Bush and Walesa laid wreaths decorated with ribbons in Polish and U.S. national colours at the foot of the monument. Having done that Walesa and Bush delivered speeches. (texts given under separate items).

Westerplatte Ceremony

At 15.00 hours in the vicinity of the ruins of Polish barracks on Westerplatte, kept as they were to commemorate the events which took place 50 years ago, president of the Council of State, chief of the Polish Armed Forces General Wojciech Jaruzelski welcomed President George Bush, also a soldier of World War 2.

George Bush and Wojciech Jaruzelski were greeted by Navy guard of honour. With the U.S. national anthem resounding, the guests saluted the banner and laid wreaths at the monument ot the defenders of the Polish coast. In the international war sanctuary George Bush and Wojciech Jaruzelski commemorated with a minute of silence the Polish soldiers and all who perished on the fronts of World War 2. The ceremony was closed by Polish national anthem, the Dabrowski Mazurka.

In front of the monument to defenders of the Polish coast the U.S. President met with a group of a few surviving veterans, defenders of Westerplatte of 50 years ago.

Farewell Ceremony at Rebiechowo Airport

At 16.20 hours George Bush and Wojciech Jaruzelski appeared at the Rebiechowo airport in Gdansk amidst the tunes of both national anthems. The President heard the report of the guards' commander, saluted the banner, inspected the unit, and greeted the soldiers. Next, President Bush listened to the farewell speech from Wojciech Jaruzelski and then said his farewell words (texts given separately).

The ceremony closed with a parade by the guard of honour. The special presidential plane took off at 17.00 hours heading for Budapest.

Jaruzelski Gives Farewell Speech

LD1107155689 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1427 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Speech by Wojciech Jaruzelski, chairman of the Council of State, at the departure ceremony for U.S. President George Bush at Rebiechowo Airport in Gdansk—live]

[Text] Esteemed Mr President, esteemed Mrs Bush! Your visit to Poland is coming to an end. We can both state with certainty that it is a chapter of paramount importance in the already long history of Polish-American relations. We have exchanged views on bilateral relations and international issues frankly and in a spirit of mutual respect. I am glad that we were able to find converging news and even fully identical views on many issues. Our talks did prove that what divided us in the past is no longer an obstacle to constructive and businesslike discussion. That is the hallmark of the times and convincing evidence that the globe rotates in only one direction: forward.

You are an experienced and far-sighted statesman who attracts warm feelings. May I thank you, Mr President, for your understanding of the complexity of our recent problems. My countrymen took in with much interest and paid due attention to your speech delivered from the rostrum of the Polish parliament.

The world is watching this visit. We share your view that the overcoming of existing divisions in our continent is closely intertwined with the international standing of Poland, a country located in the heartland of Europe, at the crossroads of European history.

All of us are learning how to face the formidable challenges of tomorrow. That is why what is needed nowadays is new thinking and joint efforts in resolving the lingering problems of the closing barren epoch of confrontation and the arms race.

John Kennedy once said: Ask not what America can do for you; ask what you can do for America. Today, as new horizons are opening up before Europe and the world, we should say: Ask not whether the world is good or bad; ask rather whether we have done all we could to make it better.

Mr President: I appreciate the candid, partner-like character of the talks we have had. We have sown new seeds. I am convinced that the outcome of this visit will contribute to the development of all-round, useful bilateral cooperation.

I want to thank you for this fruitful visit, for the good words addressed to the state authorities of the Polish People's Republic, for the many signs of respect and affection for the Polish people. It will remain our cherished memory. Bidding farewell to you, Mr President, and to the persons accompanying you, I would ask you once again to give best wishes and greetings to the American people. I wish you, Mr President, and Mrs Barbara Bush good health, every success, and personal happiness. [applause]

PAP Transmits Communique on Visit

LD1107212189 Warsaw PAP in English
2021 GMT 11 Jul 89

["PAP Communique on Bush's Visit"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, July 11—U.S. President George Bush paid an official visit to Poland on July 9 to 11 at the invitation from President of Poland's Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski. The leaders of both countries discussed the bilateral relations and main trends in the international developments.

During the talks the international situation was assessed as characterized by growing understanding of common goals and universal interests. Integrated efforts and cooperation of all countries regardless of their systems will have a key significance for meeting challenges of the contemporary world.

Initiatives undertaken both by Warsaw Treaty member states and NATO are conducive to these goals. In view of the strategic significance of Central Europe, those initiatives that serve reduction of armaments and building of confidence in the region are of particular importance.

Both sides attach also fundamental meaning to comprehensive realization of the CSCE principles. It was agreed that continuation of states' cooperation with a view to peaceful settlement of regional conflicts is indispensable.

The sides stressed that the Polish-American cooperation is based on long-lasting historical ties of both nations. It went through periods of intensive dialogue and economic cooperation and of lesser activity. After a period of deep collapse in the bilateral relations in previous years, at present their full normalization has followed. It is in tune with interests and intentions of both sides. President George Bush's visit opens a new favourable stage in their development.

It was agreed that both sides will undertake actions aimed at the strengthening of bilateral cooperation, particularly:

—Intensive dialogue and political consultations between both countries will be maintained,

—Both sides will support active interparliamentary cooperation,

—Economic cooperation will be intensified and joint undertaking in industry and environmental protection supported,

—Possibilities for scientific and technological cooperation will be comprehensively used basing on the interstate agreement of 1987,

—Broad social infrastructure of relations will be built, including cooperation of various millieux,

—Culture and information centres will be set up in both countries.

In his address at the joint sitting of the Sejm and Senate President Bush confirmed his committment to the cause of assisting Poland in solving her foreign debt problems. The President has announced that the U.S. will act for:

1. Coordinated assistance for Poland on the part of the seven most industrialied Western countries,

2. Assignment by the American Congress of 100 million dollars for development of the private sector in Poland,

3. Assignment of 325 million dollar credits from the World Bank for development of Polish agriculture and industry,

4. Rescheduling of a part of the Polish debt by the Paris Club of creditors.

Both sides attach great importance to carrying out their obligations that would guarantee durable cooperation based on mutual advantages.

During the visit American Secretary of State James Baker and Poland's Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski signed agreement on rescheduling of debts for the year 1985 and 1986-1988 and on setting up culture and information centres in both countries.

Baker and Olechowski also agreed on continuation of their dialogue both during official visits and at meetings of the international character.

Attempts To 'Disturb' Visit Described

LD1207115289 Warsaw PAP in English
1024 GMT 12 Jul 89

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Warsaw, July 12—TRYBUNA LUDU today reports of attempts to disturb peace during President Bush's visit to Gdansk, writing in part: "The wreath-laying ceremony at the foot of the monument to shipyard workers was also an important point in the visit of the U.S. President to Gdansk. It is surprising however that among those invited, there was a group of some 300 people supporting "Solidarity-like" factions sharply opposing Lech Walesa. They came to the meeting carrying numerous two-sided anti-communist placards in Polish and English, of the like: "A good communist —dead communist," "Better dead than red."

Despite the strenuous efforts of "Fighting Solidarnosc [SW]," the FMW (Front of Fighting Youth) and the KPN (Confederation for a Free Poland), no one among the residents of Gdansk present there took up the slogans, such as "Down with the commune" or "Soviets go home."

After the ceremony ended, people began to disperse. The "SW" KPN and FMW team tried to use the occasion and transform the peaceful dispersion into an anti-communist manifestation. Leaflets calling for a demonstration were distributed. Some 1,500 people made it to the Gdansk headquarters of the voivodship committee. There was booing and shouts of "Death to the commune," "Soviets go home." Several of the demonstrators tried to attack the committee with stones.

Only 250-300 people ended up at the monument to [word indistinct]. These were the same people who have been trying for months to start brawls following mass at St. Brigida Church in Gdansk.

After a quarter of an hour, in light of complete lack of interest in this failed attempt to disturb the visit of the U.S. President, the demonstration died out and its participants dispersed home. The militia standing nearby did not move in.

Spokesman Hails Bush as Realistic

LD1207042089 Warsaw PAP in English
0030 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 11—It was a visit of enormous significance, creating a new quality in Polish-American relations and also very important from the point of view of overall East-West Relations, spokesman of the president of the Council of State Lieutenant-Colonel Wieslaw Gornicki told a press conference tonight. The visit of President Bush definitely closed a certain period in Polish-American relations, at the same time opening up a new epoch.

Gornicki recalled that within the recent ten weeks Poland had played host to the following politicians: the president of Finland, the president of Italy, the United Nations secretary general, the president of France. Wojciech Jaruzelski held talks with the prime ministers of Belgium and Great Britain. The whole sequence of significant visits, crowned by the visit to Poland by President Bush, was possible because we have had for some time now a new quality of Polish-Soviet relations. The relations are based on concrete facts. The USSR is our largest trade partner, closest ally and a guarantor of our borders. This fact was also reflected during talks with President Bush, Gornicki said.

Poland has been said for some time now to be a potential bridge between the East and the West. Yet, two pillars are necessary for that and Poland has now got them. The first one was built on the eastern river bank while the second was just strengthened during the visit of the U.S. President. The pillars, however, need to be based on a very solid ground. The close ties with the Soviet Union as well as the convergence of reformist programmes in the two countries have brought results visible to any politician who thinks realistically. President Bush turned out to be such a politician, the spokesman elaborated.

Speaking about economic issues, Gornicki emphasized that after a closer study the package of American proposals may be described as significant, although undoubtedly very distant from requests for 10 billion dollars. In short, there will be no new Marshall Plan. If the intentions are really implemented, a part of them being dependent on the approval of the U.S. Congress, they will truly constitute a considerable relief in our financial situation, he added.

Answering questions, Gornicki stated that Lech Walesa had not bidden farewell to President Bush at the airport because he had not agreed to that. According to information of the diplomatic protocol of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Walesa and his wife were envisaged in the so-called first line of people bidding farewell to the President.

Asked about the date of Jaruzelski's final decision concerning his candidature for the office of president, Gornicki replied that he could not give any date. General Jaruzelski's decision has not been changed. One can presume, however, that new elements might emerge within the coming days which may make him; not so much re-consider his decision since it has already been thoroughly considered, but get acquainted with those new facts.

PAP on 'Success' of Visit

LD1107203689 Warsaw PAP in English
1906 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 11—President Bush's Polish visit which ended today was a success of both sides. It has sealed the return of Polish-U.S. relations to their traditional forms of friendship and willingness to seek common points and eliminate sore points and difficulties.

This state of affairs serves both partners well. The United States, a superpower having global interests, restores its partnerlike relations in an important point of Europe, Poland, a country whose recent history particularly entitles her to remain in the forefront of all peace and detente processes, confirms her possibilities of succesful activities on the East-West line.

These are results good for Poland and the United States, for Europe and the international relations. The friendly tone of statements by both leaders: George Bush and Wojciech Jaruzelski, went beyond usual diplomatic protocol and has been noted by everyone.

A particularly valuable historical reminder of the aspects of Polish-U.S. friendship and Poland's role in Europe was the ceremony at Westerplatte. It is impossible to move on thinking only of the past but the past must not be forgotten. A few weeks before the 50th anniversary of the outbreak of World War 2, it was worth recalling how big a price Poland had paid. [sentence as received].

Economic matters kept surfacing throughout the visit of the U.S. leader which was paid at the invitaton of General Jaruzelski and had a nationwide dimension. Many Poles may be disappointed with the scarcity of sums George Bush has offered to Poland in his package of assistance and cooperation. It is a justified disappointment, also because we have always pinned excessive hopes on the West's will and possibility to help us.

But the significance of the package of economic measures prepared by the United States cannot be belittled. It contains support to Poland in the international finance institutions, an end to the crediting blockade, a rescheduling of the repayment of the Polish debt to the Paris Club. This will not help us out in anything, we have to get out of the crisis with our own forces. But this is a help that will make it easier for us to move forward and will improve the atmosphere surrounding Polish affairs in the international financial circles. These factors cannot be expressed in millions of dollars. They have serious economic significance.

'New Stage' in Ties Cited

LD1207115189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0500 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] The official visit to Poland by U.S. President George Bush at the invitation of Wojciech Jaruzelski has come to an end. Commenting on it today's papers emphasize, among other things, that it has opened a new stage in relations between the two countries. Over to Andrzej Borkowski.

[Borkowski] It is now quite some time since we last heard as many warm and sincere words addressed to the Poles, addressed to the state authorities, as in the last 2 days during President George Bush's visit to Poland. The accord, the reforms, the democratization processes, and above all the Poles' collective thinking about a better future impressed the President who, after all, identifies himself with the philosophy of unity within diversity.

The actions taken by the Poles have exceeded all expectations and we respect you for that, said George Bush in a speech during a reception in his honor, while in another speech he said that today Poland was an inspiration for the world. But in order for the hopes connected with the changes in Poland to be fulfilled, economic support for our efforts for a better, qualitatively better tomorrow is necessary. Western commentators emphasize that the economic assistance for Poland announced by the U.S. President is probably not going to meet the Poles' expectations. But one thing is certain: George Bush's visit began a new stage in Polish-American relations. Let us hope that this is going to be confirmed at the summit of the seven most-industrialized Western states, which begins on 14 July in Paris, where the leaders of these states are going to consider, among other things, a joint program of economic assistance for Poland.

11 Jul Press Commentaries

LD1107143989 Warsaw PAP in English 1328 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 11: Here are excerpts from commentaries on the Bush visit carried in the Polish press today:

TRYBUNA LUDU

"The course of the visit of President Bush on Monday indicates that Polish-American relations have entered a good road. this pertains to a better understanding of our reality, support for stability and its creators as well as further democratic reforms conducive to international coexistence and cooperation.

"The author of this reflection has found many expressions of mutual respect and mutual sympathy in the behaviour of both statesmen. The final words of the President's address to the Sejm in which he expressed respect for General Jaruzelski for his leadership are something more than courtesy on the part of a guest towards the host, something more than a diplomatic obligation..."

DZIENNIK LUDOWY

"In his address to both chambers, George Bush presented his six-point plan. Experts set its value at some six billion dollars. Such an estimate can come only from imaginative people. Of this, direct assistance boils down, for the time being, to several hundred million dollars, perhaps even slightly over a billion. The remaining part includes rescheduling of the debt. This is extremely important because it will contribute to checking inflation and to stabilization in the use of our economic potential."

ZYCIE WARSZAWY

"Some people, among them some West European newsmen, hold that America is offering less than Poland would wish to receive. There is some truth in this. But those who convince others that the announced rescheduling of our debts in the Paris Club, in other words postponing their repayment, is not a significant break for Poland because one should doubt whether Poland would have paid the sum in the coming years anyway, are presumably wrong. They are wrong because the official postponment of repayment will change us from a debtor not meeting his obligations to a full-rights participant of international credit turnover. It will pave the way for credits which would have otherwise been inaccessible."

12 Jul Press Commentaries

LD1207100689 Warsaw PAP in English
0837 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 12—Following are excerpts from press commentaries on the Bush visit:

In a piece headlined "U.S.A. Returns to Poland," TRYBUNA LUDU writes: "Bush's visit confirmed the successful comeback of the United States to Poland without an pre-conditions. This is happening at the moment when Poland is getting more active in Europe and the world and when she has a chance of playing an international role worthy of her past and new capabilities.

"Naturally, the degree to which these possibilities are used depends above all on us alone. The new shape of relations with the United States can only be a supportive factor."

In a commentary headlined "By Ourselves First ...", RZECZPOSPOLITA writes:

"What is important is that for the first time Polish society has received an interpretation of the directions of overcoming the present economic situation. Without any embellishments and illusions. Just as it is. True, specific subsidies, stipends, that we can count on. But economic assistance can come only when we break the stagnation ourselves. And as President Bush put it, the reforms and economic revival cannot take place without sacrifices. If we have grown accustomed to believing others, let us now believe the U.S. President."

In a commentary headlined "Common Will—Right Moment," ZYCIE WARSZAWY points out: "Today Poland and America see that they need each other. Both capitals today see the importance of cooperation for detente and security in Europe, with a view to reaching the paramount goals of the two nations.

"Polish-American relations are the skeleton of the Western pillar. Their new prospects, so clearly marked after President Bush's visit, justify the satisfaction felt not only by Poles and Americans." In an article headlined "Hallmark of the Times" DZIENNIK LUDOWY writes in part: "It is very important that the United States—like Britain and France—wants to be a patron of the idea of lending Poland support. This will be effective support, so we hope. But first and foremost, we must help ourselves."

In a commentary, the SLOWO POWSZECHNE writes: "The significance of this visit consisted not only in the fact that it created a new quality in bilateral Polish-American relations but also in its positive impact on East-West relations in general, corresponding to the association of Poland's fate with postwar European and global divisions."

U.S. Official Cited on Visit Context

LD0807042889 Warsaw PAP in English
0040 GMT 8 Jul 89

[Text] Washington, July 7—A top rank representative of the Bush administration said during a White House press conference that President Bush's trip to Poland and Hungary will be a palpable proof of United States engagement in the shaping of both countries future. At the same time he stated that the United States' engagement in East European affairs is not of a political and military dimension and should not pose a threat to anyone. The United States is deeply interested in the peaceful process of reforms of which fate will be decided first of all by Polish and Hungarian societies.

Journalists were also informed that a symposium, first of its kind, devoted to issues connected with aid for Poland and Hungary was held on July 6. Over two hundred representatives of American firms, scientific milieus and nongovernmental organization arrived at the White House to seek new roads, methods and new forms in shaping economic relations with East European countries implementing the process of reforms.

PZPR Sejm Group for Partnership Coalition

LD1107164189 Warsaw PAP in English
1442 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 11—The PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Sejm floor group today exchanged views on questions connected with coalition cooperation of deputies' floor groups in the new Sejm.

The PUWP deputies firmly came out for a coalition based on partnership, without the primacy of any side. They also pondered on the PUWP's role in a coalition operating in the system of parliamentary democracy.

The deputies discussed a preliminary proposal of the structure of Sejm committees in the 10th term of office which envisages the setting up of 18 committees.

PAX Organization Supports Jaruzelski's Candidacy
LD1107193889 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] The Presidium of the main board of the PAX [Catholic organization sanctioned by the Polish United Workers Party] association examined the socioeconomic and political situation in Poland. Attention was drawn to the negative effects of the correlation between the lengthy political impasse caused by the fact that no president has been elected so far, the nonappointment of a new government and the swiftly deteriorating economic situation. The members of the parliamentary PAX unanimously gave support to the candidacy of Wojciech Jaruzelski for the post of president. Such was the information imparted by the chairman of this parliamentary group, Jozef Wojcikh.

J. Kuron on Solidarity's Government Role
PM1107131889 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 8 Jul 89 p 10

[Interview with Solidarity leader, Sejm deputy Jacek Kuron by Andrea Tarquini; date, place not given]

[Text] Warsaw—"The situation is so full of dangers as to make me consider it inevitable that the next president will be a general and necessary for Solidarity to take the risk of governing. But only on one condition: that it is the president of the republic—a president-as-guarantor, of the country's security and vis-a-vis the USSR—who asks us to join the government. If such an offer were to be made we would not have the right to refuse." This was how Jacek Kuron, triumphantly elected deputy for Warsaw and a member—together with Adam Michnik, Bronislaw Geremek, and a few others—of Lech Walesa's "inner cabinet," began his account of what Solidarity leaders will tell Bush.

[Tarquini] Do the postponement of the president's election and the warning from the military not pose serious political problems?

[Kuron] The Military Council document simply expresses the Armed Forces' opinion, and it is normal for them to request a general for president. We have no objection to this request or to the demand that the new president respect Poland's alliances. The postponement of the president's election is not itself such a serious problem, and in any case it is an issue that concerns the party, not us. We cannot take responsibility for it. The serious matter is how little time we have left to find a solution.

[Tarquini] The Military Council has warned that the president must guarantee Poland's international position. What kind of presidency do you want?

[Kuron] It seems to me, personally, that the future of the roundtable agreement is hanging by a thread, and it is absolutely essential to safeguard that agreement. Only thus will we be able to hold truly free elections in 4 years' time. A president who represents the Army and the police can guarantee friendly and allied countries that the changes in Poland will not threaten them. On the domestic plane he will reassure the communist apparatus. He will thus have a role in stabilizing the situation.

[Tarquini] But the public, your voters, are asking you to vote against any government candidate. How do you reply to that?

[Kuron] That everyone must do his duty for the sake of stability. The election of a general as president is an indispensable precondition for a democratization process. As society's representative, Solidarity will have to exert pressure to set reforms moving in the right direction. This, bearing in mind that a national understanding is only feasible as long as the president represents the party, the police, and the Army and enjoys the confidence of the USSR. On this basis the party must also retain the monopoly on foreign policy.

[Tarquini] I repeat: People are asking you to vote for "their" candidate. How will you vote?

[Kuron] We need not worry for the moment about how to elect the president. It will be very difficult for our parliamentary group to vote for one of them, for symbolic reasons. But let us assume by all means that a president is elected, somehow. The point is that neither of the two generals is sure of securing sufficient votes from the deputies of the communist party and their government coalition allies. It is by no means certain that the government candidate can be elected without outside support.

[Tarquini] The economic crisis is becoming increasingly serious. Does the threat of strikes not pose an obstacle to your moderation?

[Kuron] Of course it has become difficult to guarantee social peace. When we were negotiating at the roundtable it seemed to us that, despite its seriousness, the economic situation was not on the verge of collapse. We therefore believed that it would not hinder a gradual political process, that it would not prevent us from concentrating on political reforms. In recent months, however, the government has put a vast amount of currency into circulation, prices and incomes have exploded, and there is a serious difficulty in supplying the market. A 200-300 percent increase in food prices is essential, on the basis of economic imperatives, but we do not know whether it is politically possible. We are on the eve of another explosion of protest.

[Tarquini] Why, then, ask to join the government to manage the crisis?

[Kuron] Because it is difficult to imagine their managing to govern on their own. Because we realize that radical price increases are essential, and we have the authority to

appeal to the country, to ask it to endure hard times and the shock of the transition to the market economy. And because in government we can guarantee the confidence of foreign partners, negotiate a rescheduling of debt repayments, and request new credits and investments.

[Tarquini] What will you ask for from Bush and the West?

[Kuron] To understand that aid to Poland is a political priority. To understand that Poland is opening the road to democracy and a free economy for the entire communist world and must be enabled to proceed peacefully. It is much more profitable for the West to invest in the Polish reform than to prepare for further tensions between the blocs and to spend money on the arms race. This is why we have proposed to the West a plan for investments aimed at, directed toward recovery. We are requesting credits and investments, not aid or charity. This part of Europe is a market offering vast opportunities, and the conditions exist here for cooperation that will serve as an example for the entire world.

[Tarquini] Gorbachev is expecting Walesa in Moscow. What will be the nature of relations between your Poland and the USSR?

[Kuron] It seems to me that Gorbachev displays an understanding of what an important test bench Poland could be for the reform of the system. If political forces independent of the party, such as us, can become a factor of stability, if the new president helps us in this direction, the USSR will have a positive attitude. It is understandable for Moscow to have reservations, to wait to see how Polish affairs evolve. The experiment in Warsaw must confirm that in restructuring—"perestroyka" in Russian—the independent forces perform an important role for the sake of stability.

Rakowski POLITYKA Interview on Reform

AU1107134189 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 8 Jul 89 p 3

[Interview with Polish Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski by Jan Bijak, Marwek Henzler, and Marian Turski: "Let Us Curb Our Emotions"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] Following these last elections, one already hears people saying that an entirely different Poland is emerging, that we are changing from the third republic into the fourth republic. How do you, as head of government and a party activist, view the situation?

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski: I am careful about using terms such as the third or fourth republic, or a new political or economic order.

This is transition period in which there are many phenomena that would justify such a theses, but I maintain that in today's Poland there is no person involved in theory or practice who would be able to set out a concrete model for a new political order, or, as we put it, socialist parliamentary democracy. This really is a great test that can end in the cultivation of completely new political practices and structures, but can also end in disaster. By that I do not mean the collapse of the Polish state, but the disintegration of ideas, sometimes hazy ones, about what kind of political system is to replace the one that has existed in our country for the last 40 years and was based on the rule of one party. As an aside, I would say that this is an inevitable historical process. Revolutions have stages and dictates that are, in a sense, independent of people.

[Question] Could the changes that are currently taking place in Poland really not have occurred earlier, in 1981, for example?

[Rakowski] In my opinion, the right conditions did not exist then. I would remind you that the political idea of a roundtable and national accord were put forward by W. Jaruzelski on 4 November 1981 during a meeting with Cardinal J. Glemp and L. Walesa. To remain faithful to the facts, it has to be recalled that the "Solidarity" leadership rejected the proposal. At that time, and this should be remembered, there were no appropriate external conditions for the kinds of experiments that were initiated by the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] leadership in September of last year. I stress the PZPR leadership, because research findings show that the PZPR party base was taken by surprise by this idea for cutting the Polish Gordian knot. I would remind you at this point of the 10th plenum, and the questions that I asked at it.

[Question] The elections results show that part of the party's supporters had not even accepted the direction of change that had been adopted during the elections.

[Rakowski] That is understandable. The practice that preceded the roundtable had to manifest itself at some later point in a lack of understanding and the suspicion that no one knew where the actions that were being taken would lead in the end. However, someone observing the mood within the party following the 10th plenum could easily see that surprise was giving way to the gradual acceptance of what is an innovative direction within the entire socialist camp.

[Question] If one were to go 6 months back in time, would you not have had more misgivings at the 10th plenum, would you not perhaps have thought that the plenum and the decisions that it involved had come too quickly?

[Rakowski] I will tell you about the opinion of a Western statesman that I visited. He said to me: "I wonder whether you and the Hungarians are not moving ahead too fast?" Of course, a politician who is honest with himself and his voters must ask himself this question.

[Question] Let us consider another problem. The plenum may have occurred at the right time, but did things not start to develop too quickly following it?

[Rakowski] I also asked myself that question. I came to the conclusions that it was, nevertheless, better to take the bull by the horns. If we had not taken this step involving a risk by ourselves, then it would have been forced on us. Every politician knows that when some move is forced on him, the room for maneuver is much smaller. One can and should ask oneself whether all this did not occur too quickly. It is difficult to give an unequivocal answer. However, I reject the view that this happened too late. Every political and social event comes at the right time, that is, it occurs when the appropriate conditions exist. The decisions would have been impossible in 1985, or 1986. Some social processes can be speeded up, but it has to remembered that speeding them up too much can cause excessive complications. The fundamental question today is whether all the forces that are taking part in the construction of a new political order—an economic order perhaps less so—can display the appropriate political maturity? Will they manage, using what they have received, to create conditions that allow democratic conduct to be learned.

[Question] Who are these words directed at? Are you referring to the opposition?

[Rakowski] They are addressed to everyone. I would like to remind you that at the 10th plenum I spoke about a 2-year trial period during which a new form of partnership should be developed as we get to know each other and try out way of overseeing ourselves and our partners. The extent to which we will manage to observe democratic, partner-like coexistence is of fundamental importance. My concern stems from the fact that I know Polish history, and at times I am afraid that we may repeat the mistakes of the past, the things that gave rise to the view that Polish society is prone to anarchy. After all, the 500-year-old tradition of the Polish Sejm is not an exclusively glowing one, and we tend to treat history selectively.

My concern is also based on the experience that I have acquired in government. Poland in 1989 has been swept by a wave of demands, not just economic demands, but also political ones. The historian who will assess us some day will clearly discern this. The economic demands do not originate solely in the standard of living, but are also to some extent related to the belief, which has developed over the last few decades, that the state should look after everyone and everything and that it should provide everything, and that the government is, of course, responsible. I have some bitter experience of this. For example, recently people have been complaining that I allowed "Polar" to raise the prices of its refrigerators, and although "Polar" operates according to its own laws, that is, the laws of the market, that is, the laws of the reform, the government is being held responsible.

[Question] If there is an accumulation of price increases for various goods over a period of time, then it is no surprise that society considers this to be the result of a specific policy being pursued by the government.

[Rakowski] I agree, but government economic policy stems from the main principles of the economic reform and seeks to make production processes completely rational....

[Question] But surely this cannot mean a full-blown 19th century laissez-faire system?

[Rakowski] That is not the case. That is an unfair charge. This government has to continually use direct instruments for guiding this or that branch of the economy. Of course, it is true that the government has placed an emphasis on enterprise independence and has made this a doctrine, because I think that there will be no progress or development in the economy otherwise. However, we are encountering a mental obstacle, which is one of the biggest obstacles to the development of a Polish economy that operates on the basis of new principles. This does not mean that all the government's decisions have been 100-percent right.

[Question] Perhaps the point is that conflicting interests are being articulated more clearly today: the interests of the citizen, his occupational group, or his class. How should political parties change during this transition period? Is it not the case that some of the differences that are beginning to make themselves felt within the coalition stem from group interests?

[Rakowski] There is no doubt about that. There is a myriad of such interests, and that is understandable. Where are these interests to clash? To simplify the problem: Under capitalism these interests clash in the marketplace. Those who are weaker disappear, and those who are stronger acquire even more. In our country, the limits of personal interest were regulated by the state for 40 years. I remember a plenum at which the leader at that time said: "I did some work last night and prepared a new wage scale for state farms." There is no doubt that the party will increasingly articulate the interests of its constituency. What does this mean in practice? It means that various interests will clash, that parties will compete with one another for voters, and that conflicts of interest will be reflected in parliament and in who will be stronger in parliament and will push through legislation that will benefit the community that he represents.

Are we ready to have the present, admittedly imaginary monolith replaced by an interplay of conflicting interests? I do not think so. That is why what is making itself felt during this transition period is chaos rather than well organized public and state order.

I am now in the process of summing up the government's weaknesses and mistakes over the last 9 months. However, at the same time, it should be remembered that

much of what comprises the new political and economic order was created on the initiative of this government. It involved packages of legislation and decisions, even on such seemingly minor matters as allowing people to keep their passports at home. This was something that restored human dignity: It put an end to the practice of humiliating people by making them wait for a decision and was a question of their civil liberties. Under a capitalist system, regardless of the social policy that a government pursues, it is widely believed that you should help yourself. Can this kind of principle be accepted under a socialist system? No, because as soon as you suggest this, you are accused of betraying the interests of working people.

As far as the reform of the economy is concerned, after more than 40 years of a centralized economy and the habits that have been acquired by the people managing it, there can be no miracle-worker who can change everything during the course of a few months. It is a process that will take many years. I will defend the view that today in Poland, at the beginning of July 1989, there is lot that has changed since I was made premier. However, then you see someone from the opposition appearing on television and saying that this government has not done anything and that this government is bankrupt.

[Question] As head of government and on the basis of your 9 months experience, how do you view the fears that citizens have about the transition from a centralized to a market economy releasing the "laws of the capitalist jungle"? This is especially true as there is no abundance of goods and the concomitant competition. However, there is a threat to those who earn least, but see the great fortunes that are being acquired by the nouveau riche, and this increases their feeling of uncertainty, envy, and discontent.

[Rakowski] I agree that there are such fears, and I understand them. The greatest fears are felt by those who are at the greatest disadvantage materially. If I tell you that the state should look after them, then you will say that that is a slogan.

[Question] No, it is a duty.

[Rakowski] Of course, but the extent of the care is dictated by the current state of the economy. New wealth must, of course, make people jealous. I hear people say that such wealth has been acquired by stealing or sponging. There must, of course, be cases like that, but can you throw everything together like that? Many people are calling for the introduction of a taxation system that would curb such fortunes. Yes, but during a transition period, even the most ruthless taxation system will operate imperfectly, and it will not be possible to completely seize these fortunes, because there are dozens of ways of concealing income or of bribing inspectors. The government must do what lies within its power to reduce excessive profits. After all, it is easy to issue regulations closing down so-called new enterprises, but then we would be violating the principles of the economic reform and would eliminate enterprise. Let us consider the Soviet New Economic Policy. The income disparities were incredible. The desire for full social justice was one of the reasons why the New Economic Policy was abandoned, but it is now being said in the Soviet Union that the abandonment of the New Economic Policy was one of the basic doctrinal mistakes that led to the distortions that occurred later.

[Question] We would like to return to an idea that you expressed in a POLITYKA article in 1971: "A Good Specialist. But Without Party Affiliations." As premier, did you have an opportunity to realize the ideas that you expressed in that article?

[Rakowski] Of course, I did. I look for people of that kind, and that is how I went about forming my government. However, I also realize what problems exist, because we have failed to pursue a personnel policy that seeks out non-party specialists for years.

Our colleagues in the United Peasant Party and the Democratic Party have reason to complain that for years the great majority of state officials were members of the PZPR. Unfortunately that was the case, because these parties were not or could not be too independent. They performed a satellite role, and anyone who wanted to make a career joined the PZPR. Today, PZPR members occupy a disproportionate number of posts in relation to the real arrangement of political forces in Poland. The only problem is who should take their place?

[Question] Someone from the opposition would say Rakowski should not worry about that, we have got the people....

[Rakowski] That is true, and that is, in my opinion, one of the benefits of the existence of an opposition in Poland. This is my personnel manifesto: Today, with 45 years of the existence of the Polish People's Republic having elapsed, the head of government should not and must not take a "party" view of this problem. He should assume that there is an enormous number of people who should be identified and brought into the system of government and sharing responsibility for the country. A personnel revolution has to be instituted wherever possible.

[Question] Should one of the government's tasks not be one of creating good officials—specialists who will not change although the government team might change, as is the case in France, where ministers change following elections, but ministry administrative apparatuses do not?

[Rakowski] That is undoubtedly necessary. It is called the Civil Service in England. That is in fact my intention: I want to create a cadre of specialists that do not depend on who is premier, minister, or voivode. I am primarily looking to people in their thirties.

[Question] Thus, your opinion on the nomenklatura is somewhat similar to that held by the opposition....

[Rakowski] Basically yes, although I do not consider it to be the extreme evil they make it out to be. Professionalism must be the deciding factor and this being the case, even the greatest oppositionist who might enter the ranks of the government will have to take account of the realities. The reality is the factor that will shape his view and outlook on how things really are.

[Question] What is your attitude, as premier and the leading party activist, to the phenomenon of "usurpation" of national property by individuals or groups, during the so-called process of socialising production?

[Rakowski] At the present moment I think there is decidedly more myth than fact associated with this aspect. Until now, there have only been a dozen or so instances, out of a nationwide number of 8,000 enterprises, where factories have been leased to their management or have adopted a joint share scheme. Nevertheless, the danger is a real one. It is a new feature which has to be well analysed before one can take action. Act in haste and repent at leisure, states the old saying. Today, this aspect is an additional element of struggle in the political arena and it is often the fact that its source lies in certain political beliefs. Nota bene the government has already prepared draft regulations which will apply to this delicate segment of economic life.

[Question] Many people maintain that the government's weak point is its financial policy.

[Rakowski] For as long as I can remember, Poland has never had an ideal finance policy and I honestly admit that I have not been able to improve the situation. One has to bear in mind that when one embarks on radical reforms there will initially be a period of chaos, and regardless of who may be premier, the same barriers will be there. This does not only apply to finances. The world will soon be celebrating the 200th anniversary of the French Revolution. Note how long it took for matters there to ferment. Look at the many superb ideas and thoughts that were dashed against society's stubborn opposition, and look at the ways that those ideas had to be restructured. A century and a half had to pass before the contemporary French Republic, now governed basically fairly and wisely, could emerge. It is impossible to leap over certain stages of history.

[Question] People say that Rakowski turned out to be unfaithful in one thing, namely, he printed more banknotes than he said he would.

[Rakowski] Correct, but this was as a result of pressure for wage increases. I will admit though that when I took over as premier, my appreciation of the reality of the state of the Polish economy was also tinged with idealism. I did not appreciate that this matter would prove so intractable, but I maintain and will continue to do so, that the legislative momentum which we initiated was beneficial, though others will probably reap the rewards from this. One must also remember that when we began the "roundtable" discussions, we were warned not to do anything until agreement on it could be reached at the "roundtable". The "roundtable" and the succeeding elections lasted for over 4 months and as a result of this, we only had freedom of action during the first 5 months when I was in office.

[Question] Can you foresee the time when the party will be in opposition?

[Rakowski] No. I consider that the party must do all it can so as to ensure that this never happens. There are certain means at our disposal.

[Question] But lately, several leading party activists have stated that such a situation is a real possibility. In a nutshell, Wladyslaw Gomulka in his time stated that the party was not taking over power in order to give it up subsequently....

[Rakowski] I would prefer that these leading party activists concentrated on what can be done to ensure that power is not lost.

[Question] Does the setback the party suffered in the elections mean that there is a pressing need to create a new formation of leftist forces in Poland?

[Rakowski] What am I to understand by this? My hair stands on end when I hear that the party, for example, must now jump points onto the social democratic rails. I believe it is only natural to want the party to be an efficient and influential political force in society, however, I would be wary of being duped by the magic siren-song of hollow words and its incantations. I have made the subject of contemporary social democracy my special study, and I have to ask myself on what is the social democratic character of the Polish party to be based, bearing in mind the fact that the classic model of social democracy in Europe came to an end sometime at the end of the fifties? I do agree however, that the party needs profound reorganization and needs to find a new position in our changing society and state.

[Question] That would tend to indicate the need to face the existing reality rather than falling back on ideological concepts?

[Rakowski] One could interpret it in that way. One has to ask oneself, for example, should the party interfere in economic matters, or not? In my view it should not. Should it have its own view on economic matters? Yes,

but this should not be confused with the old argument that the party has to mark out and control economic policy, which leads to undesirable interference.

[Question] Does the above view apply to the basic party organization in the factory?

[Rakowski] Yes. Even before I became premier, I said that in economic reforms I saw the opportunity of arranging things which would free the director from being dependent on the local party secretary and free him from having to make joint decisions. Harsh economic rules must decide. If we want an efficient economy we have to have a single source of decisionmaking in our factories.

One of the leading opposition activists, a university professor, sent me a letter in 1982 in which he wrote to the effect; gentlemen once again you have begun from the wrong end, because you want to have self-management bodies in the factories, and outside. Capitalism, he wrote, did not develop because of self-management in the factories. Iron discipline and a single decisionmaking center was the norm; democracy was found outside the factory perimeter. Today, nevertheless, this professor is a supporter of workers self-management councils, because this issue has become politically sensitive. I have related what this professor wrote and I am already afraid that I shall be branded an enemy of self-management. In Poland today it is very easy to be denounced an enemy of this or of that. When I became premier I wanted, above all, to be a professional, directing a government of professionals.

[Question] A good professional party man....

[Rakowski] Yes, but a political professional and not just an expert in one narrow area of specialization. I do not feel the party's iron constraint in what I do. This does not mean that I do anything which is contrary to my party's interests. From the time that I have been premier, the Politburo has not made any decisions relating to the economy, which does not mean that I do not, as a Politburo member, inform my comrades of what I as premier am doing, or intend to do.

[Question] How do you see Poland's future?

[Rakowski] I am a moderate optimist, or rather a very cautious optimist. I have asked myself the question whether there are people in the opposition who are already thinking of seizing power. I have also heard opinions that it is likely that the opposition will soon fragment and Poland will be covered with a multiplicity of various political parties (the draft regulation on political parties is being prepared by the government). I do not believe the calls which prophesy the imminence of a mature democracy in Poland. This is wishful thinking. I fear that a long period of convulsions, of sweat, tears, but I hope not blood, still awaits Poland. I would like to point out that up till now and within the process of profound, almost cataclysmic, transformations, we have been able to preserve conditions which have protected us from the worst that can happen. This is a great achievement for my party as well as for all the other forces which have participated in this historical enterprise.

[Question] Are the latest events in Poland changing the way we are perceived from outside, where hitherto, our undertaking has been watched with a certain goodwill and interest?

[Rakowski] In my opinion, the leading politicians on whom the fate of Europe and the fate of perestroyka depends are watching Polish events with a good deal of sympathy, but also with some measure of skepticism. Not all these people are certain that the events in Poland will not elude control, or that some elemental upheaval will begin destroying the delicate tapestry which we have woven with the opposition. We have to carry on weaving, because it is the basis of national existence. Let us all carry on weaving while curbing our individual and collective emotions.

Jaruzelski Meets With Economic Action Group

LD1207085489 Warsaw PAP in English 0728 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 12—President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski yesterday met with a group of members of the economic action which is a plane of agreement between associations and milieus acting in favour of ownership transformations in the economy and a free market.

The meeting took place in connection with programs of economic and structural changes, now being prepared, which are necessary for the implementation of the adjustment program and with proposals of foreign financial assistance for the private sector of the Polish economy.

Wojciech Jaruzelski's guests presented a concept of necessary changes in the social system and handed "a statement of the economic action" relating to this matter and containing postulates and expectations which if taken into account, would open possibilities for cooperation between independent economic milieus and bodies of state authorities.

Peasant Party Communique on Economic Policy

LD1207102189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] The Presidium of the Supreme Committee of the United Peasant Party (ZSL) has assessed the sociopolitical situation in the country. The communique points out, among other things, the bad state of the economy, the drop in industrial production, the unsettling of the market and growing inflation. The state of the food market, which has a particular influence on social moods, is deteriorating.

The ZSL Supreme Committee Presidium is of the opinion that the effects of the government decisions on freezing prices and wages will aggravate these negative phenomena, only postponing the solution of the most important economic problems. The only solution is to introduce market mechanisms into the food economy, to restructure industry, to introduce changes in the area of investment, and to consistently observe the priorities adopted by the government.

The Presidium examined and adopted materials for the eighth plenary session of the ZSL Supreme Committee which will be held o 13 and 14 July.

Democratic Party Seeks 'Centrist' Future

LD1207105189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] A meeting of the Democratic Party's (SD) Central Committee Presidium was held. It discussed matters relating to the activities of the parliamentary SD in the Sejm. The communique states, in part, that the most urgent need is for the swift setting up of the highest state authorities. In this connection the meeting agreed on the need to assemble a commission on the co-operation of political parties and groupings.

The resolutions of the regional echelons of the SD are critical in their assessments of the principles of the coalition's actions to date—and propose an evolution of the present party system toward an authentic co-partnership and respect for ideological indentity. They decisively reject the practice of some representatives of the PZPR Central Committee authorities speaking on behalf of the whole coalition, without previously consulting their partners' positions and opinions.

It is necessary to begin actions aimed at shaping a new model of the SD as a centrist party.

ZSL Statement on Food Economy, Market Principles

LD0407084889 Warsaw PAP in English 2100 GMT 3 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 3—A statement by the press spokesman of the United Peasant Party (ZSL) CC [Central Committee] received by PAP, stresses that the ZSL has been coming out for a long time for thorough political and economic reforms. We expressed this in resolutions of the 9th and 10th congresses. We pointed out that agriculture and food economy should at first be based on market principles. However, these proposals were not accepted by leading bodies of the allied parties, Premier Messner's government and by the reborn trade unions.

The ZSL stand on basing food economy on market principles and its de-monopolization was accepted only by Premier Rakowski's government. This was expressed in a programme of his government's actions. Despite favourable conditions at the start of this year, the government did not make proper decisions under the influence of various pressures, including these of trade unions.

Delays in basing the food economy on market principles and its demonopolization, coupled with a breakdown of production in other branches of the economy and growing inflation, caused the economy practically to break down.

Chairman of the ZSL CC Roman Malinowski did not express his approval of the government proposal to freeze prices and wages, deeming it another decision to postpone the processes of basing the economy on market principles. The ZSL says once more that this is a continuation of adopting "half-measures" and taking spectacular actions not bringing desirable progress in reforming the economy.

One should tell society the entire truth that reforming the economy entails temporary fall in living standards. The entire people must bear the expenses of overcoming the crisis. However, it is important that they should be divided among all social groups in tune with their affluence.

These difficult decisions must be made "today" to prevent the breakdown of the economy and social unrest and to lay down the foundations for economic recovery.

Poznan Health Workers Make Demands, Plan March

LD1107200789 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] The protest hunger strike of employees of the Poznan health care services held in front of the building of the Voivodship Office in Poznan is already in its sixth day. The strikers have not heeded the appeals to break their strike, which is taking the form of a fast. Up until now, three people have been given medical help due to physical exhaustion.

A protest march along the city streets by representatives of Poznan health care establishments, who will adopt appropriate resolutions in front of the Voivodship office, is planned for tomorrow.

Today the department of health and social welfare in Poznan received the following demands from the Specialist Oncological team and the Voivodship Ambulance Station addressed to the central authorities. The hunger strike will be discontinued upon fulfilment of these demands.

First, to introduce immediately, that is according to an extraordinary procedure, an amendment to the budget law regarding the health care sector.

Second, to set up an index linked pay system in health care, based on a collective labor agreement prepared by the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] Solidarity.

Third, depoliticize health care.

Fourth, to establish the regulations and principles for setting up employee self-management in health care units.

The contents of the demands has been passed on to the central authorities as a matter of urgency.

Church's Legal Position Viewed

AU3006094389 Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish 25 Jun 89 pp 1, 3

[Father Bronislaw Fidelus commentary: "The Legal Position of the Catholic Church in Poland"]

[Excerpts] On 17 May 1989 the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic enacted several parliamentary bills relating to church matters, and especially to the Catholic Church.

Among these bills there was one governing the relationship of the Polish state to the Catholic Church, one guaranteeing freedom of conscience and religious belief, and one regulating social security provisions for the clergy. On 23 May 1989 these were published in the OFFICIAL GAZETTE and became law. [passage omitted]

To Polish society, especially Catholics, the most interesting of the acts would seem to be the one which governs church-state legal relations. The act is especially important because its provisions encompass the totality of matters related to the functioning of the Catholic Church in Poland. It should also be stressed that the significance of this legislation also stems from the fact that the totality of church matters is now regulated by an act of parliament, a legal act of the highest consequence, second only in importance to the basic laws of the Constitution. Hitherto, all legal regulations relating to the church were generally in the form of decrees, regulations, and circulars issued by ministers. These touched on individual church matters and did not encompass the totality of church-state relations. [passage omitted]

The act consists of four chapters. The first is entitled "The Catholic Church in the Polish People's Republic". The second, the largest chapter, defines the activity of the Catholic Church. The third is concerned with church property, and the fourth contains transitional and concluding provisions.

The most important part of this act from the legal point of view is the first chapter and the regulations, 13 short sections, which it contains. Section 1 of this chapter states that "The Catholic Church in the Polish People's Republic acts within the constitutional system", and Section 2 adds "The church, governs itself by its own laws, freely exercising its spiritual and jurisdictional powers, and administers its own matters".

Matters to which the above church-state act does not apply are subject to the general legal regulations in force. The Sejm has also called into being a Joint Commission which is to consist of representatives of the government and of the Conference of the Polish Episcopate. This commission is charged with the investigation of church-state relations and the interpretation and implementation of the legislation.

I consider that the most fundamental part of the act is the granting of legal personality to the Catholic Church in the Polish People's Republic. [passage omitted]

Regrettably, in the postwar period, and this may seem comical, the Catholic Church in the Polish People's Republic ceased to exist from the legal point of view. That is in the eyes of Polish law. It continued to function and, what is more, it functioned well, but legally it did not exist.

It means it did not have legal personality. Not being a legal person it had no rights in many matters. If it happened to be granted something this was always as a favor, or as a mark of temporary good-will on the part of the authorities. [passage omitted]

Until now, there was no legal regulation at the level of an act of parliament in which the Sejm, as the representative body of society, accorded a legal personality to the church in Poland.

In conformity with church custom, the Sejm has granted a legal personality on a national basis to the Conference of the Polish Episcopate; has granted legal personality to bodies of a regional character, such as metropolitan sees, archdioceses, dioceses, apostolic administrations, parishes, rectorates, Polish Caritas, diocesan Caritas, and papal missionary organizations; to bodies of persons such as cathedral chapters, parish bodies, the Conference of Higher Monastic Superiors, monastic and lay institutes, apostolic associations, monastic provinces, abbeys, convents, independent convents, higher and lower diocesan and monastic seminaries, scientific institutes; and to the Catholic University of Lublin, the Papal Academy of Theology, the Papal Theological Department in Poznan, Wroclaw, and Warsaw, the Jesuit Department of Philosophy in Krakow, and all the scientific canonical institutes set up by the church itself. Thus, after many years of effort the higher theological and philosophical academies of the church have been recognized as having legal personality. [passage omitted]

The regulations which so hindered the administrative work of the church have been abolished. Hitherto, the formation of new dioceses, monastic provinces, parishes, convents or monasteries, and the staffing of personnel posts by the church authorities were regulated by the

decree dated 31 December 1956, which obliged the church to obtain permission from the appropriate central authorities in the case of dioceses and bishops, and the appropriate local authorities in the case of new parishes, convents, and parish priests. The majority of people were not aware of this. Additionally, before being allowed to assume their post, bishops and clerics had to take an oath of allegiance to the Polish People's Republic in the following terms: "I solemnly swear to be loyal to the Polish People's Republic, obey its laws, and not do anything which might jeopardize its well-being". [passage omitted]

The consequence of acknowledging that the church is a legal person opens up possibilities for official activity by the church. Chapter II thus discusses in detail activity which may be of a controversial nature. [passage omitted]

The chapter contains many detailed provisions which deal with individual matters allied to the functioning of the church. [passage omitted]

The act regulates matters related to public worship, religious teaching and education, military chaplaincy and military service for the clergy, and spiritual ministry in special institutions. It contains provisions pertinent to church and Catholic organizations, Catholic associations, the church's charitable and welfare activity, and church and sacral building. It also regulates matters related to cemetaries, culture, and the mass media. Among matters of worship, it is worth noting the provision which officially confirms 1 January, 1 November, Christmas Day, Easter Monday, and Corpus Christi as non-working holidays, and adds an additional non-working day, namely, 15 August, Assumption Day. It has also been accepted that services of worship in sacral places are also subject to church jurisdiction. However, pilgrimages and religious processions on public highways require prior consultation (please note, that it is now consultation, and no longer permission; which is a fundamental change) with the administrative authorities.

The teaching of religion is vital in the life of the church. The state acknowledges the church's right of religious instruction and its right to educate children and youth in accordance with the expressed wishes of their parents or guardians. Thus, from the moral and religious point of view the role of Catholic parents becomes paramount. [passage omitted]

A new feature is the provision which regulates the school timetable, allowing time for religious instruction. Previously, this was a major problem for teachers of religion, namely, the organization of religious teaching, so that the children would not lose too much time from their normal lessons. A lot depended on the school timetable. A malevolent school principal could organize the school timetable and subsequently keep altering it in such a way that he could thwart any attempts to introduce lessons in religious instruction into the school working day. These tactics are well-known to parents and teachers of religion. Now the minister of national education, in consultation with the secretariat of the Polish Episcopate, will issue a disposition regularizing the position of religious instruction in the school curriculum.

The issue of private schools has become topical in Poland today. The church now has a legal right to have its own private schools and higher and lower diocesan and monastic seminaries. Their students and teachers now have the same rights as their colleagues in state schools and colleges, namely, rights to free transport and family, social security, and health care benefits.

As regards religious ministry to the armed forces, for a long time the church has argued that the 2-year period of basic military service should not be a spiritual gap in the life of a young adult. It maintained and still does so that a crucifix worn under military uniform and private and Sunday prayer are not something which disgrace the dignity of the uniform. In our history patriotism has always gone hand in hand with faith. All our struggles for freedom began, in a large measure, in the churches. [passage omitted]

The Sejm has guaranteed people serving their military service and their families the freedom of religious worship, dependent only on their own free will. Soldiers serving professionally in the Armed Forces now have the right to participate in mass on Sundays and other holy days of obligation, provided it is outside the area of military stationing. The Sejm has also defined the status of military chaplains, to be nominated by the minister of national defense after prior consultation with the diocesan bishop.

The act also abolishes the obligation of basic military service in relation to students of church seminaries and novices in orders. [passage omitted]

Some areas of religious life in Poland were subject to an earlier but secondary level of legislation. These have now been raised to the level of a parliamentary statute. These pertain to specialized church ministries, such as spiritual ministry in child and juvenile corrective and detention centers, in child care and welfare centers, and sanatoriums and hospitals. These children and juveniles now have the right to the services of a priest, to receive religious instruction, and to religious worship. The same applies to people in hospitals and psychiatric homes and institutions. [passage omitted]

People in prisons also have the legal right to the services of church minister in private, but the act draws a distinct difference in the way people in temporary detention and those actually serving sentences can benefit from the services of a priest. The act also introduces a new area of religious ministry, namely in child and youth summer holiday camps organized by state institutions. These children now have the right to religious worship and to

attend mass on Sundays and holy days of obligation. The minister of national education is to issue detailed regulations in this area. [passage omitted]

The act completely glosses over the Scout movement. Maybe it does so deliberately. However, I think that the act does talk of camps, and Scouts stay in camps. Thus, the act permits our Scouts to take part in religious practices. In particular, it allows them to attend Holy Mass. Nevertheless, the act rules out the possibility for children in holiday camps outside Poland to take part in religious practices.

Persons belonging to the church now have a guaranteed freedom to gather in order to perform tasks that stem from the Church's mission. Church associations and associations of lay Catholics may be set up and accorded legal personality. Is there any difference between these organizations? There is a difference from the point of view of their organization and management, and from the point of view of the purpose for which they were set up. Thus, church associations may be created by the bishop of the diocese, the head of a convent, or by the Conference of the Polish Episcopate. The purpose of these organizations is to inculcate religious devotion and knowledge. The important thing about these organizations is that the Associations Act does not apply to them.

Associations of lay Catholics, on the other hand, are created only with the approval of the church authorities, which is granted by a chaplain or church dignitary. The purpose of these associations is to pursue social, cultural, educational, and charitable activity in accordance with the teachings of the Catholic Church. The provisions of the Association Act apply to these associations. The Association of Catholic Academic Youth is the first association of this category to have been set up in the Archdiocese of Krakow.

The new rules permit the creation of non-religious church and Catholic associations only if the purpose of such an association is to combat alcoholism and drug addiction, and help the families of those who indulge in these practices. All other types of organizations that gather Catholics and implement Christian ideals according to their own programs bear the name "Catholic associations" and have to conform to the Associations Act. [passage omitted]

The Catholic Church in Poland has been conducting charitable activity for years. After the war, this activity was reduced to a minimum and individual dioceses and convents were deprived of their schools and orphanages. Nuns working as nurses in hospitals were removed from these hospitals and allowed to work only in homes for mentally handicapped children. Today Polish Caritas as a nationwide organization, the Caritas branches in various dioceses, and private individuals can all perform charitable activity.

In fact, one can now perform any activity that is meant to help others; in other words one can run orphanages, old-people's homes, refuge centers, hospitals, clinics, and kindergartens. One can organize help for pregnant mothers, offer shelter for the homeless, and aid those affected by various misfortunes. Even foreign aid for victims of natural calamities and people in dire need is permissible. [passage omitted]

The church is faced with a great work of charity. The church in Poland has always been connected with charitable activity. Practically unlimited possibilities for such activity have now been created. However, the 40-year gap in this activity cannot be filled overnight. The church's charitable activity will certainly develop, but it will do so gradually, in line with the training of professional staff and the acquisition of material assets and funds for this purpose. Funds for this purpose are meant to come from donations, gifts, legacies from home and abroad, the proceeds from public events, subsidies from Polish and foreign institutions, the income of church organizations, and the economic activity of Polish Caritas and regional Caritas branches.

Sacral building has already been dealt with in a 1981 directive by the chairman of the Council of Ministers. The most important provisions of this directive have now assumed the status of an act of parliament. Thus, the church as a legal person has the right to build churches and other sacral buildings, and to establish and own cemeteries. However, the building plans of individual dioceses and convents must be included in national socioeconomic plans. The state will not collect any fees for placing state land at the perpetual disposal of the church for the building of religious premises. [passage omitted]

The church has the right to broadcast church services, but the way in which this should be done will have to be discussed with the Radio and Television Committee. What is more, the church can set up its own radio and television channels! [passage omitted]

Thus, the church in Poland is faced with a major new task—entering the media and using them for religious purposes. The services of lay Catholics are bound to be required for this work, and these people will require not just professional training, but religious preparation as well. I think this is one sphere of church activity where laymen have to shoulder more responsibility than clerics. In these important matters concerning the church, it should be noted that the church may also run its own private and public libraries, archives, and museums.

As we know, the activities conducted by every legal person are based on a greater or lesser material foundation. All the church activities mentioned above could not even be partially initiated without a certain material foundation. Thus, it is no surprise that during the discussion on church affairs certain regulations were agreed on with respect to the property affairs of church

legal persons. The act grants the church and its legal persons the right to acquire, own, and dispose of personality and realty, as well other rights. The church also has the right to administer its own property.

Until now, prior permission had to be obtained from the responsible administrative authorities for all gifts of realty, lifetime covenants, and bequests and legacies to the church. Such approval is no longer required. Church legal persons will be able to conclude legal contracts of inheritance, donation, and bequest, and lifetime covenants. Extensive taxation regulations provide for additional taxation exemptions and concessions, as well as tariff exemptions. The assets and revenue of church legal persons are subject to general taxation law. Additional tax and tariff exemptions and concessions have been introduced, that is, they have now been confirmed. This particularly applies to income allocated for devotional purposes and church charitable work. It is also possible to collect donations for the aforementioned purposes outside church premises. Church foundations can also be established.

Chapter IV contains the customary transitional and final provisions: It is short and concise. However, in light of the nature of church-state relations during the more than 40 years that have elapsed since the war, it contains very many detailed provisions, especially with respect to property matters. Certain property matters concerning the church and the state have not been regulated since the partitioning of Poland. The Concordat concluded in 1925 stated that these issues would be regulated. Unfortunately, this did not occur before the outbreak of the war. After the war, disputes and disagreements relating to property became even more intense with the nationalization acts, the law of mortmain, and the abolition of church foundations, whereby property passed over to the state treasury. Many buildings, especially monastic buildings, were nationalized and confiscated. There were also cases where buildings were nationalized, but remained at the church's disposal. Like all property issues, these issues are complicated and require very detailed consideration that is beyond the scope of this article.

Generally, one can say that the regulations seek to put these matters in order. The principle has been adopted that property that was taken away from the church can be restored to it. Under certain conditions mentioned in the act, it is also possible for the church to regain property that was taken over by the state treasury. These matters are meant to be settled by a property commission comprising representatives of the Office of Religious Affairs and the secretariat of the Polish episcopate. This commission may either restore the original property, grant alternative property, or issue compensation. [passage omitted]

To conclude this rather long treatise, one should say that the church has not acquired a privileged status in the Polish People's Republic. It has acquired and recovered the rights that are guaranteed to it by the Constitution and international agreements initialed by our state.

Finally, one should appreciate the efforts of the joint commission of government and episcopate representatives, especially that of the editorial team for its great effort in preparing and proofreading the act.

Anniversary of Treaty With Soviets Marked

AU1107164989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1524 GMT 11 Jul 89

["On the Anniversary of the Signing of the New Romanian-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Collaboration and Mutual Assistance"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 11/7/1989—On Tuesday, July 11, Bucharest was the venue of an event that marked the anniversary of 19 years since the signing of the second treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Soviet Union, organized by the Romanian-Soviet Friendship Association and the Bucharest city committee of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party].

Speaking about the significance of the event were Florin Balaure, member of the Bureau of the Management Board of the Romanian-Soviet Friendship Association, and Y.M. Tyazhelnikov, ambassador of the Soviet Union in Bucharest. On the occasion a documentary was shown.

In the attendance were representatives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and of the Ministry of National Defence, party and state activists, representatives of mass and public organizations, men of letters, senior officers and journalists.

SCINTEIA Commentary on Pact Meeting

AU1107173189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1445 GMT 11 Jul 89

["Under the Sign of Strengthening Collaboration in Socialist Construction, in the Struggle for Peace and Disarmament, of the Determination To Firmly Reject Any Destablizing Tendencies of Interference in Home Affairs—Article in SCINTEIA of 11 July"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 11/7/1989—In Bucharest, where more than twenty years ago, at a meeting of the Warsaw Treaty socialist countries, the idea of security and cooperation in Europe had been first advocated to be later materialized by a string of highly important and significant reunions and understandings which led to the convening of the all-European Conference and the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, another political action arrests the attention of the international public opinion: The representatives at top level of the Warsaw Treaty states signed the document "For a Stable and Secure Europe, Free of Nuclear and Chemical Arms, For a Substantial Reduction of Armed Forces, Armaments and Military Spending". This document as well as the released communique synthesize the joint conclusions and positions of the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty states after the exchange of views on the international situation and the main action lines to strengthen peace and stability in Europe and the world over, to achieve disarmament, broaden international collaboration and dialogue. Naturally, the meeting participants attached special importance to problems of the construction of new system, of socioeconomic collaboration during the view exchange.

Considering the importance of the problems approached, of the documents endorsed, President Nicolae Ceausescu showed in the speech at the dinner in honour of the participants that "one may say that—in general—the meeting is a moment of utmost importance for future collaboration, both internationally and in socialist construction in our countries".

In Bucharest declaration of the Warsaw Treaty states starts from facts in the contemporary world, from the general aspirations at securing a lasting security in Europe, at making new steps along the disarmament path, at putting international relations on new bases and reiterates the necessity of strengthening peace, freeing mankind of the war danger, of developing a broad mutually advantageous collaboration among all countries.

Throwing light on their determination to concentrate their efforts on building the socialist society, the participating stat also stressed that the cardinal issues today are the cessation of the arms race, the liquidation of nuclear and chemical arms, the radical reduction of conventional arms, which requires stepped up efforts from all peace-loving forces working to safeguard life and civilization.

Particularly, the declaration restates that a new policy of security, understanding and interstate collaboration should be firmly promoted by strictly observing national independence and sovereignty, equality and mutual advantage, all peoples' imprescriptible right to choose freely their socio-political development path, with no interference in home affairs and excluding completely the threat and use of force. The declaration shows that the participating states are ready to develop and deepen, on this basis, the dialogue with all states, to collaborate constructively to solve the problems facing mankind, to consolidate security and ensure stability on the continent and the world over. The differences of social system, the declaration points out, should not be an obstacle in the path of mutual collaboration and understanding among states.

It is an essential principle of the international life which acquires a greater significance in the light of more and more intense attempts lately to interfere in the socialist countries' home affairs, with the obvious aim to destabilize the situation in these countries, to envenom the political climate in Europe and the rest of the world. The so-called thesis of "European reconciliations" is used as a pretext for the rescrudenscence [word as received] of the antisocialist and anticommunist policies pursued by political circles in Western states, the USA included, which downrightly resort to inadmissible practices of interference in other states' home affairs. Most serious is

the fact that the champions of such attempts are personalities in the highest offices in some of these countries, to give these the weight of state policies.

Special mention deserves the statements of President Bush in his current European tour, including also two socialist countries, which flagrantly run counter to the demands of the new thinking, the spirit of understanding and collaboration which should characterize normal interstate relations. Presenting in a news conference the political guidelines of the U.S. Administration vis-a-vis the socialist countries, President Bush tried to substantiate a so-called "strategy of differentiation"—obviously, upon criteria stemming form the interests of imperialist circles, having in view the deviation of some countries from the socialist development path which are promised "support" and "encouragement". Advice and "good marks" are given, recommendations are made to some socialist countries—among which Romania—to give up the basic principles of socialism, to embark upon the road of so-called "reforms" aimed at reestablishing the private property, capitalism.

With the arrogance of a great power, treating the socialist countries with the superiority of one willing to make favours in compliance with the receptiveness shown to such advice, the USA, through the intermediary of President Bush said openly that if they took action along those lines, more could be done for them, together with others from the West. In other words, who takes the direction indicated, will benefit by the leftovers of capitalist monopolies. This appears most clearly in the formulation of a true programme of "assistance" to socialist countries so as to reintegrate their economies in the global economy, the capitalist one respectively. The same diversionist aim is served by the organization at the White House of a symposium pursuing the involvement of executives of the American private sector in supporting changes in the socialist countries. It is easy to guess at the changes envisaged. And to remove any doubt, it is shown most directly that the participation of this sector is essential to bring forth the envisaged changes.

It is not difficult to see that such exhortations, recalling the nefarious cold-war procedures of sad remembrance, are in fact an attempt to reverse the wheel of history, to stop mankind's advance toward socialism.

Mister Bush recommends to socialist countries not to be afraid of democracy and freedom. The "concern" of the U.S. President is totally unfounded. What kind of freedom is given as a model to socialist countries? What kind of democracy? Naturally, the freedom and democracy of the capitalist type, upon the patterns of oppression, inequality and injustice, firmly rejected by the peoples embarked upon the path of the new socialist system.

Which are in fact the so much praised liberties? The liberty to be subjected to exploitation and humiliations? The liberty to be unemployed, to seek a job in vain? Or maybe the liberty to have no shelter, to sleep in parks and subway stops, to be deprived of the right to learn, to health care? Or it is known that like "liberties" are unfortunately the lot of millions upon millions of people in the capitalist countries, who face permanently the specter of daily insecurity, who live under the poverty limit.

And what kind of democracy is recommended to the socialist countries? The democracy which favours a small minority whose welfare and richness are ensured at the expense of the many? A democracy where the levers of power are the monopoly of privileged strata? As facts show including latest developments, such a democracy only stimulates the reemergence of fascist, antihumanitarian tendencies, encourages extremist forces and trends such as those who contributed to the outbreak of the last world conflagration to reenter the political scene.

What is this type of freedom and democracy advocated by the U.S. President supposed to replace? It would replace a society based on equality and justice for all. A society in which man's oppression by man was abolished once and for all, where everyone is guaranteed the right to work, learning, social assistance, in a nutshell, to a dignified life providing conditions for the full assertion of the human personality.

Mister Bush can stop worrying. People who fought long and made sacrifices to win true freedom and democracy in socialism have no reason whatsoever to opt for the path so perseveringly recommended, to give up everything they achieved in the years of socialist construction, to return to bygone times.

In spite of the evidence, of statements which leave no doubt as to their purpose, the U.S. President said at the same press conference that he did not want to interfere in other countries' internal affairs. These affirmations are contradicted by statements that the U.S. intends to help some socialist countries to advance toward an alternative future. What can this alternative be? An alternative which means a return to the capitalist system with its spectrum of dramatic consequences, which have been and must be further rejected most categorically by the people building socialism. Those who claim the right to give advice and indications to people deliberately ignore the fact that socialism is a history reality which has fully proved its superiority in socio-economic development and achievements, in providing conditions for equal assertion for all citizens, in ensuring their basic rights.

It is clear that the destabilizing tendencies in Western circles seek the division of socialist countries, the weakening of the unity, force and influence of socialism worldwide. Likewise, the antisocialist campaign, which gains more and more scope, pursues, by virtue of the same diversionist purposes, to draw the attention of the working class in their own countries from the dramatic facts facing them more and more.

All these highly condemnable actions most flagrantly run counter to the elementary principles and norms of interstate relations, run counter to the spirit of the final act of the Helsinki conference on security and cooperation in Europe, which also bears the signature of the United States of America.

The Bucharest declaration emphasizes the need to give a resolute riposte to all these infringements, to any forms and manifestations of sowing hatred among people, of direct or indirect interference in states' internal affairs. "No country"—the declaration shows—"has the right to dictate events in another country, to pose as a judge or arbiter. The allied socialist states attach primordial importance to the ensurance of military, political and territorial stability in Europe. They start from the fact that each people decides on its own the fate of its country, has the right to choose by itself its sociopolitical and economic system, the state system they think fit".

The principled assessments of the states attending the Bucharest meeting are a strong call to strengthening their collaboration and solidarity, of all states which are building the new social system, in the interests of socialist construction, relying on the respect of each state's, each party's right to work out self-reliantly the political line, revolutionary strategy and tactics, on the basis of the application of general laws of scientific socialism to concrete conditions in each country. This demand imposes itself ever more in the current circumstances when reactionary circles show more and more obviously the tendency to denigrate socialism, to hit, in one form or another, socialism, the countries building the new system. The declaration stresses that all socialist countries should strengthen the principles of scientific socialism, in defense of their socialist gains, redouble their vigilance before any attempts at destabilizing the situation in these countries, in Europe and worldwide.

The constructive positions and proposals, the conclusions of the Bucharest meeting go down as an event of international political importance, as a great contribution to the promotion of the cause of socialism and peace.

Public opinion in Romania, the Romanian people welcome the results of the meeting, the signature of President Nicolae Ceausescu on the declaration being the supreme guarantee that Romania, alongside the other socialist states, the advanced peoples and forces everywhere will work firmly and consistently for disarmament and peace, for the attainment of the great desideratum of the people in the continent to live in a united Europe of free and independent states, in a better and more just world.

Harassment of Dissident Cornea Continues

AU1107122889 Paris AFP in English
1224 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Vienna, July 11 (AFP)—For the first time in several weeks, there has been news of the 60-year-old Romanian dissident Doina Cornea, Western diplomatic sources said in Bucharest.

Mrs. Cornea, who was put under house arrest in August last year for writing an open letter criticising the regime of Romanian leader Nicolae Ceausescu, said she was being permanently watched and that visitors were being turned away from her home in Cluj in Transylvania.

She complained her radio reception had been jammed and that phone calls she made from a public telephone cabin were being interrupted.

The former university teacher said her son, a qualified electrical engineer, was being refused work locally even though newspaper adverts suggest there was work for engineers in Cluj.

U.S. Delegation Attends Talks in Belgrade

AU1107085689 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Jul 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Yugoslav-U.S. Consultations in Belgrade"]

[Text] Consultations between a Yugoslav delegation and the the U.S. delegation attending negotiations on confidence-building and security in Europe in Vienna were held at the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs yesterday.

The U.S. delegations was led by Ambassador John Maresca. The delegation was joined by U.S. Ambassador in Belgrade Warren Zimmermann. The Yugoslav delegation consisted of the assistant federal secretary for foreign affairs, Kazimir Vidas, and his associates from the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, representatives of the Federal Secretariat for National Defense, and representatives of the Institute for International Politics and Economy.

At the end of the talks, the U.S. delegation was received by Milivoje Maksic, deputy federal secretary for foreign affairs. They discussed international questions and topical issues concerning relations between the United States and Yugoslavia.

DELO Commentary on Lack of Bush Visit

AU1107202789 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 10 Jul 89 p 1

["Topic of the Day" commentary by Mitja Mersol: "Bush Flew Over Yugoslavia"]

[Text] American President George Bush is in Poland today. In a few days, our neighbors, the Hungarians, will be his hosts. Without fighting for a guest, we may, nevertheless, ask why Bush is not going to visit our country, and why he circumvented Yugoslavia, flying over it. And if we ask this, let us also ask whether this is good or bad.

Lately, the columns of American newspapers have been full of musings on Washington's (new) East European policy. Bush' visit should be a herald of the break between the old policy (fostering a split in the East) and the new U.S. policy. Because of the fairer circumstances in international relations (especially in the relations between the big powers), the latter should help Moscow or Gorbachev in maintaining the status quo, as paradoxical as this may sound. Within this, pluralist flowers of democracy and private enterprise should bloom in the several member countries of the East European bloc with Gorbachev's blessing (and with the funeral of the Brezhnev doctrine) and with the economic aid of the United States.

Bush's visit to Poland and Hungary should, therefore, extend support to Walesa's Solidarity, Pozsgay's reforms, and Gorbachev at the same time. It should also reflect support for the strivings of each of the East bloc countries to separately march into the Europe of 1992.

And Bush does not come to visit us not because Washington would still hold to the old policy of "differentiation" toward us (wish that it would!), but because as a result of our own "differentiation," he simply does not know whom and what he should support in our country with such a visit. This is perhaps the answer to the first question of why he does not come. The answer to the second question—whether this is bad or good—should be searched for in the reasoning of the answer to the first question.

Croatian Lolic Elected to LCY Presidium

LD1107144389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1323 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Jul (TANJUG)—In a secret ballot, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee today elected Marko Lolic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium from Croatia, and Lev Kreft, member of the LCY Central Committee from Slovenia.

In addition to Marko Lolic, Branko Caratan was also put forward as candidate for member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium from Croatia. Sreco Kirn was Slovenia's second candidate for membership of the LCY Central Committee.

Belgrade Party Debates FEC Economic Policy

LD1107110289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1510 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 10 Jul (TANJUG)—Belgrade Communists firmly support the recommendation by the Serbian Republic's organs that the Federal Executive Committee [FEC] measures, which have drastically effected Serbia's economy, should not be accepted. This conclusion was made at today's session of the Belgrade League of Communists [LC] City Committee where it was stressed that the situation in which one measure weakens the economic position of entire regions—as the Federal Executive Council has done over the last few days—was impermissible.

The FEC was therefore called upon to provide answers as soon as possible to questions relating to hyperinflation, promissory notes, clearing payments, disparities in the prices of agricultural produce, the law on duty free zones, re-balancing the budget, etc.

The rapporteur, Dragan Ilic, executive secretary of the Presidium of Belgrade LC City Committe, drew attention to Belgrade's unfavorable economic results in the

first 5 months of this year, which have been further devaluated by the inflation for which the federal government seems to have no cure.

Speakers in the ensuing debate agreed for common Yugoslav economic, social and political reforms and for special anti-inflationary measures called for by the working class of Belgrade, if inflation is to be curbed.

Belgrade supports the FEC's general orientation, Milorad Unkovic stressed, but it opposes a reform likely to impoverish Serbia. He drew attention to various rumors and speculations about the alleged disagreements between the Serbian and Belgrade leaderships, which are also aimed at halting the reform in Serbia.

The material impoverishment of Belgrade's economy, according to Slobodan Jovanovic, results from the fact that there is no anti-inflationary program and from the FEC's attitude toward the prices of electricity, wheat, clearing payments, and other measures which affect Serbia as a whole. [passage omitted]

In the debate today, the issue was also raised on the way Serbia was covered by some of the Yugoslav papers. As was stressed, attacks on Serbia and its leadership were initiated by MLADINA and DANAS, but have appeared now in other papers, even in the Yugoslav-oriented BORBA. Who is behind this editorial policy? Nebojsa Maljklovic asked, and went on to say that the disinformation was aimed at undermining Serbia's unity and leadership. Slobodan Jovanovic noted that anti-Serbian tendencies are not just economic, but are aimed at protecting some national bureaucracies and the forces defeated at the eighth session of the Serbian LC Central Committee. Concluding the debate, Rados Smiljkovic, president of the Presidium of Belgrade LC City Committee, said that a debate on the media in no way transcends the context of the debate on the economy, and went on to stress the workers' right to true information. They particularly have the right to react when being denigrated and confused by various unprincipled coalitions which distract their attention from the main task, Smiljkovic said.

Assembly Budget Rebalance Session Postponed
LD1107144589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1158 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 11 Jul (TANJUG)—The sessions of the Federal Chamber and the Chamber of the Republics and Provinces of the Yugoslav Assembly, scheduled for tomorrow with only one item on the agenda—the proposal to rebalance the federal budget for this year—have again been postponed "to an unspecified time."

Dr Miran Mejak, president of the Yugoslav Assembly's Chamber of Republics and Provinces, said in this connection that the new date for the session of the two Assembly chambers is impossible to specify before tomorrow. Members of the Finance Committee, the Assembly working body which is the competent body for the federal budget, will meet tomorrow to try once again to coordinate stances on rebalancing the federal treasury for this year. The Federal Executive Council, as the one proposing the rebalancing, will "eavesdrop" on the outcome of this coordination process and, if no agreement is reached, will at the same time prepare a proposal of temporary measures for financing the Federation.

The adoption of the rebalanced budget has been postponed several times. The present situation is such that all the delegations of the federal units, except Serbia, have agreed to this document. The delegates from this republic believe that some of the economic policy measures adopted by the federal organs are directly affecting the (?economy in Serbia), and without the agreement of one delegation, the rebalancing of the budget cannot be adopted.

Belgrade City Committee Adopts Statement
LD1107112189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1649 GMT 16 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Jul (TANJUG)—Every instigation of an investigation into the alleged allocation of a socially owned flat to Dusan Mitevic, director general of Belgrade Radio and Television and members of the Presidium of the Belgrade LC [League of Communists] City Committee is groundless and can only serve the interests of unprincipled political showdowns, with the aim of discrediting and slandering city cadres.

The Presidium of the Belgrade LC City Committee stated this at today's session. The statement, in reply to a delegate's question, notes that the sociopolitical chamber of the Belgrade assembly gave a clear and detailed answer based on correct and confirmed information, and that the chamber adopted the reply by majority vote.

The Presidium stresses that in the future it will most resolutely oppose attempts to bring into our ranks discord and preconceived compromises of the most active fighters for the policy of the eighth session of the Serbian LC Central Committee.

The Presidium of the Belgrade LC City Committee sharply criticizes BORBA for its editorial policy, which, since the eighth session of the Serbian LC, has aimed at undermining public trust in social processes in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and the Serbian LC.

Questioning whether such behavior is appropriate for a federal paper financed by the Socialist Republic of Serbia and accountable to the republic, the statement especially condemns BORBA articles about President of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic.

We cannot understand why BORBA serves the aims of the old policy and anti-Serbian orientation in this way, the statement of the Presidium says, among other things.

The statement was read out at the session of the Belgrade LC City Committee. The committee then adopted the report unanimously.

Armed Forces Chief Visits Kosovo Pristina Corps

LD1107182189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1607 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Pristina, 11 Jul (TANJUG)—Members of the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) will continue resolutely to oppose all those forces which, under whatever pretext or from whatever platform, try to destroy AVNOJ-based, Socialist Federal Yugoslavia. This was stressed by Colonel General Stevan Mirkovic, the Chief of the General Staff of the SFRY Armed Forces, at a meeting with the units and officers of Pristina corps, which took place within Gen Mirkovic's regular working visit to the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

Lieutenant Colonel General Zivota Avramovic, commander of the Third Army District, and Major General Andrija Silic, commander of Pristina Corps, informed the Chief of the General Staff and his aides about hitherto results in fortifying defense preparations and expanding and deepening the cooperation front with all the population in the province, and also about the YPA's contribution to the efforts to stabilize the unfavorable situation in Kosovo.

Gen Mirkovic visited a unit under the command of Officer Predrag Misulic, where he was acquainted with the conditions of life and work of the soldiers and their officers. He also attended fieldwork training classes. Addressing the unit, the Chief of the General Staff stressed that the unit was involved in executing the responsible and honorable task of protecting vital social values and the country's integrity. According to him, YPA members will continue to fight for Yugoslavia's unity by nurturing it in their own ranks; will promote the party's role under newly-created circumstances of socialist development; and consistently implement the commitments to reform in society.

In Istok, the Chief of the General Staff had a meeting with the members of the combined militia unit, with whom he discussed the political-security situation in this undeveloped Kosovo commune and the unit's role in improving intranational relations.

The people of the Novo Selo local community in Djakovica municipality gave the Chief of the General Staff and his aides a warm welcome. The local community's leadership briefed the guests about the life and work of people in the eight surrounding villages, populated by members of various nationalities, who live in harmony and togetherness, without nationalist and other excesses, and who are trying to overcome their development problems by relying on their own resources. They will receive help from the YPA units in the construction of a regional road.

Talks in the provincial territorial defense headquarters and in the provincial secretariat for national defense, focused on the efforts and results in strengthening and improving the system of territorial defense and on defense preparations on the territory of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

Today, Gen Mirkovic also had talks with Hisen Kajdomcaj, president of the Socialist autonomous Province of Kosovo Presidency about topical issues concerning the political-security situation in the province.

More on Celebration of Kosovo Battle Anniversary

Press Reaction to Celebrations

AU1007134689

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 5 July on page 11 carries approximately 3,000 words of "Commentaries on the Celebrations To Mark the 600th Anniversary of the Battle in Kosovo Polje" cited from various Yugoslav newspapers. The dates when the commentaries appeared in the respective papers are not given.

The 500 words of excerpts from the Novi Sad DNEVNIK commentary entitled "A Field Like No Other," include the following passage:

"What happened on St Vitus Day on the field of Kosovo happens once every 6 centuries. Two million people came to Kosovo Polje to reap what they sowed 6 centuries ago. Yugoslavia gathered, looking back to its forefathers where, on that Tuesday in 1389, the Serbs lost everything except their honor, soul, and historical awareness, and where a prince and (almost all) a people sacrificed themselves in looking forward to their descendants and, by choosing the heavenly kingdom, bound and obliged their descendants to preserve their roots and name, even in 5 centuries of slavery.

"On that day, the Kosovo field was Serbia. The Kosovo field was Yugoslavia. Kosovo is Yugoslavia."

The 200 words of excerpts from a POLITIKA EKSPRES commentary by Slavko Gajevic entitled "A Burst of Self-Awareness" read as follows:

"The marking of the Kosovo battle was a cultural, political, and media event. The gathering together of two million people to remember the Battle of Kosovo above all bears witness to the force of the Kosovo myth, it bears witness to the seriousness of the reasons why believers, atheists, Communists, and the descendants of the nation that was born 'on the other side of the sea' gathered in the same place. Well-intentioned observers of the last St Vitus Day could perceive the reasons why even today, when Serbs mention Kosovo, this is in fact an affirmation of the clear awareness of the continuity of this people and a special kind of burst of national self-awareness.

"Unfortunately, good intentions are increasingly frequently a surprise on our territory, rather than something that is taken for granted. It seemed that some communities openly desired some excess or scandal during the marking of a date which symbolizes the defense of freedom and the defense of Christian Europe..... Since there were no excesses or disturbances, endeavors continued in our north-western media to prove at any price that this celebration was a mistake. But there is the difficult task of how to convince the 2 million people that were at Gazi Mestan and all the others in front of their television sets that they saw something other than what they actually saw. Will the consensus again be called upon to help out?" The 250-word excerpts from the Titograd POBJEDA commentary by V. Novakovic entitled "Belief in the Future" end with the following passage: "One question remains, however: Was Yugoslavia in Kosovo? How can this then be judged? If we were to assess this according to the Yugoslav leadership that has not been seen in one place for a long time, the answer would certainly be in the affirmative. We have not seen them together in the front rows, not because there has been no occasion, but probably because they have had no desire to be together. This fact is also impressive, even though its validity can be undermined with the question—if they were alongside each other, are they also necessarily with each other."

The 300 words of excerpts from the Belgrade NIN commentary by Milorad Vucelic entitled "The Heart of Serbia" conclude with the following passage: "The celebration of the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo in Gazi Mestan and Gracanica on St Vitus Day is an event and date to be remembered in history. It will also be a support and a lesson, a stimulus in the face of the trials of history and the challenges of the modern age, as well as in the face of the battles and struggles in regard to which Slobodan Milosevic rightly said that 'they are not armed battles, although such things cannot be excluded yet.'" These "battles cannot be won without resolve, bravery, and sacrifice. Without the noble qualities that were present here in the field of Kosovo in days past.... For this battle we certainly need heroism, of course of a somewhat different kind. But that courage without which nothing serious and great can be achieved remains unchanged and remains urgently necessary."

The 400-word excerpt of the NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA commentary by Aleksandar Tijanic entitled "'Hard' and 'Soft' Milosevic" reads as follows:

"...The feeling of 'a united nation' broke in a symbolic and sometimes direct way from the people, through those who were present from Bosnia, Knin, Vojvodina, Sumadija, Montenegro, and Kosovo and the Serbs across the sea from Canada and the United States. For some people this looked like the embodiment of the old slogan 'Serbs, let us gather!,' for others it was the logical consequence of general homogenizations in which this time the Serbs do not just want to not lag behind, but even want to excel in some respects. Second, it is probable that Milosevic himself with his reputation as a controversial politician (on a scale between 'Stalinist' through 'leader' [the word "vodz" is used, which is usually attributed to Karadjordje, leader of the first Serbian uprising in 1804] to 'early communist') could say some things which are yet to be discussed and of which analyses are yet to be made. The spirit of the speech is contained in the stand that only now as a united Serbia do we have something 'with which to face Milos.' It is characteristic that Milosevic uses the original folk saying 'How are we going to face Milos?' even though some analysts think that in his politics he is closer to Karadjordje than to the skillful Milos Obrenovic. Stressing disharmony as the supreme evil fate of the Serbian nation, Milosevic directly accused a generation of Serbian politicians of inferiority and of making pacts to the detriment of their own people. Having claimed that the Serbs have never used their position as a great people, he pointedly said that Yugoslavia can survive only under conditions of the full equality of all nations, adding that the elimination of national divisions will alleviate the consequences of the other disputes as well. I followed the reaction of those present to parts of the speech. It provoked a great response three times: first, when Milosevic stressed that Kosovo is the heart of Serbia; when he stressed that Serbs have never exploited or conquered others; and third when he said—for me surprisingly sharply and I wonder if it was done constructively—that we are now engaged in battles and that they 'are not armed, although such things cannot be excluded yet'! I see this problem as a question of insufficient definition of stands—is this a question of possible armed battles against what we call an external aggressor or will we, in the best tradition, be fighting among ourselves? I must state that the final cries about Serbia and Yugoslavia received the same number of decibels of applause and that its final stand of: 'Long live peace and brotherhood among peoples' was interpreted where I was standing as 'a tempering policy': sometimes cold and sometimes hot. This is where the difference between Milosevic and Emperor Lazar lies. Lazar chose the heavenly kingdom, Milosevic thinks that this was the right choice in principle but that the Serbs after 6 centuries need the earthly kingdom too.... Personally, I would have been happier had he said something more not about our tribes, but about citizens, their individual rights, rights to opinions and to be different, but perhaps he judged that this was an unsuitable subject for celebrating the greatest Serbian battle...."

Celebration Held in Knin

AU1107104289 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 9 Jul 89 p 3

[M. Ivic and M. Jaksic report]

[Excerpts] Knin—A festive soiree was held in an overflowing hall of the Yugoslav People's Army Hall in Knin on Saturday evening [8 July]. It was organized by the Communal Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the

Working People of Croatia, as the central celebration of the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo in the Socialist Republic of Croatia. The festive soiree was attended by Marijan Kalanj, president of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Croatia, and Milan Kiperas, member of the Presidium; as well as by Mirko Sinobad, member of the Presidency of the Socialist Republic of Croatia; Tomislav Djordjevic, vice president of the Croatian Assembly; Milivoj Solar, president of the Republican Committee for Education and Culture; Radmila Andjelkovic, president of the Presidency of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of Serbia; Miroslav Djordjevic, member of the Presidency of Serbia; Ratko Butulija, vice president of the Executive Council of Serbia; Zdenko Svete, Zvonimir Stenek, and Dragan Dragojlovic, presidents of the Commissions for Relations with Religious Communities of Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Serbia respectively; representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church headed by Jovan, metropolitan of Zagreb-Ljubljana, and Nikolaj, bishop of Sibenik; Srecko Badurina, Catholic bishop of Sibenik; Simun Sipic, father Provincial; Sevko Omerbasic, chief Imam for Croatia and Slovenia; and many others.

The festive soiree in the Yugoslav People's Army Hall in Knin began with the singing of the Yugoslav and the Croatian anthems, and Tode Bursac, president of the Communal Conference of the Socialist Alliance, greeted those present. Milivoj Solar, president of the Republican Committee for Education and Culture, then made a speech.

Columns of buses and cars converged on Knin and Kistanje from early in the morning. Special trains arrived at the Knin railroad station. To a great extent, they were decorated with Serbian flags and pictures of Slobodan Milosevic. A bus brought to the Tvik Work Organization some 50 citizens of Bresje, Kosovo, who some 10 days ago feted the workers of Tvik during the Gazi Mestan festivities. The church part of the festivities began with a liturgy in the open, next to the Krka Monastery. [passage omitted]

The official celebrations concluded with a hymn to Saint Sava, and the festivities continued around the Krka Monastery, in the canyon of the river, and in Kistanje nearby, with the sound of the gusle [one-string Serbian ethnic instrument] and many songs, unfortunately including some nationalist ones. Outstanding in this respect were the groups of "well-known meeting makers" who came from Nova Pazova and Vrsac with banners and slogans, well-known pictures, with beards and wearing caps with the Serbian coat of arms, featuring four letters S, with Serbian flags without the socialist emblem, and numerous badges and pictures, especially of Slobodan Milosevic. The monastery courtyard was flooded by numerous traders with their stands at which they sold pictures and badges depicting Milosevic, and little flags, pins, and badges with the Serbian coat of arms. Tumultously greeted by those gathered there, the arrival of the group from Nova Pazova was particularly memorable; the group arrived in the monastery courtyard singing the songs: "On Kosovo, like long ago, the sun shines clear and bright; we won't give up Czar Dusan's land, for ever ours by right," and "O Czar Lazar, O Czar Lazar, what is this we learn? Again the Serbs, once more ill-starred, to Kosovo return."

Croatian Serbs Mark Anniversary

AU1107135489

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 10 July on pages 1 and 3, and Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian on 10 July on pages 1 and 5-7 carry a number of reports on Croatian Serbs marking the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo in Knin, Croatia.

Describing the celebration of the Kosovo battle anniversary in Knin, the 900-word unattributed report carried in BORBA on page 1 states: "Within this religious occasion and forum, today's gathering had all the characteristics of a mass popular rally and national festival of Serbs from this part of Croatia and their guests from Bosnia-Hercegovina, Vojvodina, Serbia, Montenegro-....However, this rally was the kind of rally where people mostly behaved like 'men,' and then increasingly often like 'Serbs.'

"When, and this was right at the beginning of the manifestation, fairly strong political tones and national colors became more evident, this came mainly from the guests at this demonstration, not the hosts."

Ending its second report, a 600-word unattributed report on page 2 summing up the speech of Tode Bursac, president of the Knin Socialist Alliance of Working People, and Milivoj Solar member of the Croatian Executive Council, BORBA states:

"As was heard among journalists today, the protocol part of the festive soiree—in which Tode Bursac mentioned by name only Marijan Kalanj, president of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Croatia, and not Radmila Andjelkovic, president of the Presidium of the Republican Conference of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Serbia, and in which he welcomed the Serbian delegation only after the Bosnian delegation—did not go down well with the official delegation from Serbia."

On page 3, BORBA also carries a 100-word unattributed report on banners seen at the celebration in Knin: "Emigrants—Kosovo is waiting for you"; "We want equality in Croatia"; "Freedom for Cyrillic script"; "Who is representing us in Zagreb"; "Kablar Jovo [president of Knin commune], we are with you"; "We Want the Serbo-Croatian language"; "Slobodan, Freedom, come here, we are waiting for you."

In its reports on the celebration of the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo in Knin, POLITIKA describes in great detail both church and official ceremonies, as well as a number of speeches delivered by various officials. It does not, however, mention any nationalist incidents.

On page 7, it carries a boxed 100-word unattributed report on banners seen at the celebration of this anniversary: "Down with bootlickers, we want the Serbo-Croatian language"; "Who is representing us in Zagreb"; "People from Dalmatian Kosovo, we are stronger together—Ibarski Kolasin"; "Fraternal greetings to the people of Knin region—Pec"; "Oh, Serbia, Knin loves you"; "Long live the brave offspring of their glories ancestors—Niksic"; "From Kosovo to Kosovo, the song of our great grandfathers is heard"; "Freedom for Cyrillic script"; "We want equality in Croatia"; "the Spirit of the Kosovo heroes is our and your motive"; "Slobo, freedom, come here, we are waiting for you"; "There are two Kosovos, but one heart—lads from Prijepolje."

Kosovo League Discusses Constitutional Change

LD1207140289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1120 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Text] Pristina, 12 Jul (TANJUG)—The proposed amendments to the Constitution of the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Kosovo do not question the autonomy of the province, the sovereign rights of working people and citizens, on the policy of national equality. At the same time, they contribute to a more complete constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia as a state on its entire territory. This is pointed out in a statement from today's session of the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee at which the participants discussed the ideopolitical aspects of the changes to the Constitution of the province.

At the session, it was assessed that the proposed amendments to the Constitution of the SAP of Kosovo regulate in more precise terms the areas of shared interest in the Socialist Republic of Serbia and contribute to the elimination of deformations in this area.

Croatian League Condemns Knin 'Incidents'

LD1107105389 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2051 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Zagreb, July 10 (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia today decisively condemned "in the name of peace, dignity, common life, unity and reason" the nationalist incidents during the celebration of the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo, held last weekend in the town of Knin, in the Republic of Croatia.

The nationalist incidents by a group of members of the Serbian nationality were termed by the Croatian party leadership as "unprecedented shady activities" in the republic.

Although within the Croatian Republic, the region around Knin is mostly settled by Serbs, which make up the majority population of the neighbouring Republic of Serbia. The group of Serbian nationalists yesterday attempted to use the celebration of the 600th anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo, which marked the end of a strong medieval serbian state, to propagate their own ideas.

As assessed by the Croatian party leadership, the symbols and messages of the group, which brought into question the value of the Yugoslav system and alluded to "the dark times of nationalist splits and showdowns" caused revolt, uneasiness and demands for a decisive condemnation throughout Yugoslavia.

The Croatian Party Presidency assessed that the celebration in Knin mostly passed with dignity, with expressions of devotion to "basic ideal and values of Tito's Yugoslavia" and that the activities of "the militant groups and individuals" who "through violent methods and recognizable symbols of the Serbian nationalism" attempted to politically abuse the celebration, were stopped thanks to the joint efforts of the organizers—local socio-political organizations and the Serbian Orthodox Church—and the conduct of other citizens.

Morina Opposes Abolition of Province Autonomy

LD1107095189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1725 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Pristina, July 10 (TANJUG)—Party leader of the Yugoslav Autonomous Province of Kosovo, Rahman Morina, today said that the Kosovo Communists would categorically counter the goal of the Albanian nationalists and separatists to form the province into a republic, but that they would, at the same time, oppose the abolition of the autonomy of the province of Kosovo, which is part of the Republic of Serbia.

Speaking at a meeting of a commission in charge of preparations or a conference of the League of Communists of Kosovo, to be held in the provincial capital of Pristina in mid-November, Morina set out that the Kosovo (?party) would work for both the exercise of Serbia's necessary functions on all of its territory, and the consistent exercise of the essence of the autonomy of Kosovo and the other province, Vojvodina, itself a part of Serbia.

The amendments to Serbia's Constitution adopted in late March this year have enabled Serbia to establish its state [words indistinct] including the two provinces, whose autonomy has in no way been infringed upon.

The Province of Kosovo has for a longer period been affected by the activities of Albanian nationalists and separatists whose chief slogan (?is) "Kosovo - republic." The Albanian nationalism [words indistinct] for the first

time in the 1981 demonstrations and it did so again in the March demonstrations this year, which have had elements of an armed rebellion, as officially stressed.

The massive character of the march demonstrations is ascribed to manipulations, i.e. a strong propaganda campaign carried out by the Albanian nationalists of misinforming the ethnic Albanians and convincing them that the amendments to Serbia's Constitution would lead to the abolition of the province's autonomy.

Rahman Morina today set out that the battle against the Albanian nationalism and separatism was a priority task of the Kosovo communists, who he said would, however, oppose also every other nationalism.

Tupurkovski Defends Serbia to French Socialists

AU0907200989 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jul 89 p 2

[TANJUG report: "Protecting Minorities in Kosovo Is Civilizational Obligation"]

[Text] Ohrid, 4 Jul—The protection of the rights of Serbian and Montenegrin minorities in Kosovo is not only a Serbian and Yugoslav obligation, but also a civilizational [civilizacijski] obligation. Therefore, today, when the world is raising the question of the protection of the Albanian nationality in Yugoslavia, we are surprised that this same world does not talk about the violation of the rights of minorities in Kosovo. As is well known, these are not Albanians but Serbs and Montenegrins whose exodus has for a long time been neglected in Yugoslavia, as well.

This was stated by Dr Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY], during his talks with a French Socialist Party delegation led by Gerard Colomb, party secretary for external relations. Kosovo is a long-term problem, a problem for Yugoslavia's security and stability. Solving this problem will reinforce Yugoslavia's independence in decisionmaking and communications with the world.

Pressure on Serbia

Yugoslav politicians, Tupurkovski said, cannot accept outside criticism of our allegedly inadequate conduct regarding the protection of human rights. Those who criticize us ignore one very important psychological factor, namely that the world has created an idealist picture of the state of human and minority rights in Yugoslavia, especially in relation to the socialist world, and that we appeared as great "champions" to many people. On the other hand, we did not really deserve this epithet because we spent a number of years concentrating on the realization of collective rights, rather than on the rights of an individual, the rights of man and citizen regardless of his nationality, or where he lives, what kind of standard of living he has, education, and so forth.

Speaking about constitutional changes in our country, Tupurkovski said that, following the promulgation of last year's amendments, Yugoslavia is now facing the task of drafting a new constitution, because, as he said, the amendments have created only the constitutional-legal prerequisites for the implementation of the economic reform while the political system has barely been touched.

The only breakthrough in this respect has been made in Serbia. All republics and provinces, without exception, displayed a positive attitude toward this. This is why we are surprised that none of our explanations have been positively received in the world and Europe, even by our friends. This issues is now being interpreted in different ways, and Serbia has become a subject of organized pressure, not only in the public information media but also in politics. It appears that the aim is to prove that the reconstruction of Serbia was allegedly done at the expense of the autonomous provinces, especially Kosovo, because the Albanian nationality has allegedly been deprived of its rights.

We are also surprised by the world's lack of readiness to accept Yugoslavia's arguments, especially because the constitutional changes in Serbia did not infringe on any elements of the political system which guarantee the provinces' position in the federation and full autonomy in every respect. The only changes introduced are those concerning defense, legislation, and planning.

Unfortunately, Tupurkovski continued, all this was used to make a political issue from which one can conclude that the Albanian nationality was allegedly subjected to aggression and that this issue therefore needs to be internationalized, and Yugoslavia even exposed to political and other kinds of pressure. According to this "scenario," despite the State Department's opposition, the U.S. Congress adopted an amendment which, if endorsed by the Senate, will be turned into a law which would be used to seriously draw Yugoslavia's attention to the violation of the rights of ethnic Albanians. The European Parliament is adopting a resolution without taking into account our warning that we will not accept it as an objective approach in assessing the real situation in Kosovo and Yugoslavia.

Organized Enemy

Addressing the members of the French Socialist Party delegation, Tupurkovski stressed that Yugoslavia does not see the settlement of the problems in Kosovo as lying in the use of force and other restrictive measures. However, nobody in Yugoslavia will allow its territorial and political integrity to be endangered in any way. It was in fact in Kosovo that we faced organized enemy which resorted to force last March.

At the end of his talk, Tupurkovski briefed his guests on the preparations for the forthcoming extraordinary congress of the LCY at which, as he said, some statutory

changes will be made in order to democratically renew the LCY. These changes, Tupurkovski said, will place the LCY on the Yugoslav political pluralist scene in a special way. In this context, he also explained Yugoslavia's ambitions concerning the Nonaligned Movement which, as he said, coincide with the ambitions of the most important factors in the world. These primarily refer to the modernization of the movement in order to reach a certain degree of pragmatism in solving its own national needs, something that is within the context of Yugoslavia's new status in Europe, something that suits the Nonaligned Movement.

Gerard Colomb, national secretary of the French Socialist Party for external relations, stressed that the French people, especially French socialists, understand Yugoslavia's problems, and that they are confident that Yugoslavia will overcome them with its own forces. As far as European countries are concerned, they could help Yugoslavia to confront the challenges of its economic development. Yugoslavia's original policy has aroused our attention, because the French socialists have always seen in Yugoslavia's efforts a road toward socialism compatible with freedom, Gerard Colomb said.

Commentary on Reproach to Party for Being Idle

AU1207095489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Jul 89 p 2

[Ivan Torov commentary: "We Alone Are Abolishing Ourselves"]

[Text] Journalists and their newspapers were recently criticized by the federal party leadership for not following the pre-congress discussions at the grassroots level. By this, the leadership wanted to indirectly counter the impression that the membership's discussions on, above all, the already published document on the transformation of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia have not even started yet, although the time for convening the congress is relentlessly approaching.

The facts nevertheless indicate the opposite. Not only have the majority of the republican party organizations not yet held such discussions, but the entire party work seems to have completely died down. Work is partly paralyzed because of the extremely bad political situation, and partly because of the lack of the leadership's resourcefulness and its rambling. It is also partly paralyzed because the people are preoccupied with surviving the crisis, particularly inflation, from day to day, and partly because they have lost confidence that the next congresses will improve things at all. There is no doubt that fear of the future and of the consequences of the presently serious inter-republican quarrels and clashes force people to retreat, push them toward passivity, disappointment, and lethargy, aware that their will and opinions can hardly change the behavior of "their" and "alien" party, political, and national leaders.

In the communities in which the party work is to some extent evident, this work mainly follows the pattern of a superseded method of pre-congress activities; it is reduced to a formal way of expressing views and "processing" documents. The communal and republican leaderships are receiving support for their theses and moves without any difficulties, and the discussions mainly center on commenting on daily political events in which other communities and leaderships are almost inevitably blamed for the present bad situation. Party work is organized in such a way that it could be used by leaderships at any time as an excuse for the further aggravation of the political situation and inciting quarrels over concepts.

Therefore, we do not claim that there are not any party discussions about the congress at all. However, anybody who—even if not eagerly—follows political events in our country will easily understand that they are more or less taking place within the leaderships, and that it is in these leaderships that fierce collective monologues are conducted on what the 14th congress should or should not be, what kind of a party we need, what means should be used to build "new socialism...." As a rule, no steps are made beyond one's own deep trench. Helped by the propaganda machine, they are persistently and aggressively trying to impose "their" views and opinions, incite and provoke new motives for clashes, which is something that intentionally prevents any constructive dialogue. By doing this, we are losing even the smallest chance of creating somewhat more bearable conditions for a sensible discussion before the congress.

In the situation when the bulk of the party membership is either left aside, or used as a tool, the leaderships have three options: To proceed with their isolationism to the end, until they reach an absurd situation, and thus risk not only their fate and the fate of the party they lead but also the fate of the country. By doing this they will definitely confirm that "principled conduct," "honesty," "courage," and "democratic traits" will not go beyond their own doorstep, or that of their nation, and that they care much more—which is not difficult to conclude today—for power, leaderism [liderstvo], and even the creation of their own personality cult. Alternatively, in the interest of their own peace and in order to remain in power, they will, by doing each other favors, haggling, and making compromises, come to the congress with a non-aggression pact signed in advance. Of course, nobody will benefit from this kind of agreement, especially the membership and society because the reform of the party and successful socialism will be desired the least.

The third possible option is the "happening" of a historic agreement among the creators of political events which will mean the end to ideological wars, and the beginning of the reintegration of Yugoslav society and its political movement on the basis of the market economy, political pluralism, and full democracy. Unfortunately, in the presently overwrought political climate, it has

little or no chance at all. The substance of this solution is wearing thin from day to day, while expectations that this could be relatively painlessly achieved are becoming an illusion. It is indeed difficult to believe that any of the complacent and narcissistic leading teams and individuals would give up their monopoly of power without a convulsive struggle.

When all this is revealed, when all veils are removed, some things become clearer: However much they may want, the so-called anti-communist and anti-socialist forces will not remove the party from the political throne. The experience of the absence of pre-congress discussions demonstrates that the party and its leaderships are not aware that they are daily abolishing and canceling themselves more efficiently than anybody else, regardless of the fact that they continue to hold a high opinion of themselves. The tragedy of this process does not, however, lie in the fact that the party should no longer be social and political monopolist and power holder, but in the fact that its disintegration and the lost opportunity to become the driving force behind political and social stability would mean the confirmation of the fear that it is no longer possible to live together in this land in the Balkans.

However, we do not want to believe in this option, at least as long as there is a chance to do the opposite.

Racon Interviewed on Rise in Nationalism

LD0907170989 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1630 GMT 9 Jul 89

[Text] Zagreb, July 9 (TANJUG)—When all problems, disputes, and all outstanding questions are expressed in national terms, this indeed reflects the deepest crisis in a multinational community such as Yugoslavia, said member of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Presidency, Ivica Racan in a 10-minute interview to Zagreb Television on Sunday.

Asked about the state of inter-ethnic relations and expectations from an LCY Central Committee plenum, scheduled for late this month to discuss this matter, Racan replied that the plenum calls for good preparations in view of the highly strained inter-ethnic relations in Yugoslavia, when the League of Communists and its members are also affected by inter-ethnic divisions and quarrels.

Recalling that a party planum on inter-ethnic relations was not held for fifty years, he said this was due to a Bolshevik illusion and a statist-dogmatist syndrome that the national question was settled during the people's liberation war. In Racan's assessment, it has not been and it cannot be settled "As long as the nation exists as a phenomenon, as long as there is the outstanding question of the development of our nations and nationalities."

Racan said that the socialist and federative nature of the Yugoslav community was endangered by current manifestations of nationalism and saw the main reason for the worsening of inter-ethnic relations in the fact that a concept of socialism and socialist relations which existed and yielded certain results, has now ceased to do so.

In such a crisis, he assessed, certain forces bank on national homogenization in power struggle, playing on the national card in their ambition to retailor relations in Yugoslavia.

Instead of national homogenizations, national divisions, and quarrels, what we need is a most effective alliance of reform forces, a "homogenization" of the forces of reform in all our republics and national environments, stressed Racan.

The forthcoming party plenum must provide answers to all these questions. There should be no illusion that a plenum can settle everything, but—warned Racan in conclusion—"the plenum must stop the march into an abyss."

Economic Agreement Signed With FRG

LD1007212589 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1447 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, July 10 (TANJUG)—A free transfer of the resources invested by West German businessmen in Yugoslavia and Yugoslav partners in the Federal Republic will be guaranteed by a special agreement signed in Belgrade today by member of the Yugoslav Federal Government, Dzevad Mujezinovic, and Federal Republic co-chairman of the mixed committee for economic cooperation, Dieter von Wirtzen.

The document covers the capita invested by tbe state, that is, [word indistinct] sectors and also private persons, and it guarantees a free transfer of profit, the agreement at the same time, guarantees an equal status to West German firms in Yugoslavia and the Yugoslav [firms] in the Federal Republic.

The agreement signed between Yugoslavia and the Federal Republic today is the first of its kind to be signed by Yugoslavia. It is a practical result of recently adopted laws in Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia is shortly to sign a similar document with Austria and is working on agreements with other countries, too.

POLITIKA Questions Albanian Census Results

AU1107195489 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Jul 89 p 2

[TANJUG report: "National Minorities Decimated"]

[Text] The Albanian news agency, ATA, reports that according to the latest census, the People's Republic of Albania has a population of 3,182,417.

The number of members of non-Albanian nationalities amounts to 64,816 which is two percent of the country's population. ATA specifies that 58,758 Greeks, "4,697 Macedonians, 100 Montenegrins, Serbs, Croats, and others," and 1,261 members of other nationalities were registered.

ATA adds that the population of the People's Republic of Albania has increased by 591,800 people in the last decade. The average annual increase is 20.1 per thousand. The towns are inhabited by 35.5 percent of the population and the countryside by 64.5 percent. The number of men in the total population is greater than the number of women and amounts to 51.5 percent.

It is worthy noting that in the consensus, which was conducted at the beginning of this April, the number of members of national minorities in Albania has been decimated in relation to the previous census. According to unofficial Yugoslav estimates, around 45,000 Macedonians and 15,000 members of other Yugoslav peoples live in Albania.

Zelenovic Returns From Visit to Argentina

LD1107103689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1751 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Jul (TANJUG)—Today, Dr Dragutin Zelenovic, member of the SFRY Presidency, returned from Argentina, where, on behalf of the SFRY Presidency, he had attended the inauguration of new Argentine President Carlos Saul Menem. Beside the meeting with President Menem, Dr Zelenovic had short meetings with numerous statesmen who attended the inauguration. He had a broad and lengthy talks with a larger group of representatives of associations and clubs of Yugoslav emigrants, who expressed great interest in the situation in our country.

Drnovsek Congratulates Mongolia's Batmonh

LD1007222189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1436 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Belgrade, 10 Jul (TANJUG)—On behalf of the SFRY Presidency and in his own name, president of the SFRY Presidency Janez Drnovsek today sent congratulations to Jambyn Batmonh, chairman of the presidium of the People's Great Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic, on the occasion of the national holiday of this country.

Loncar Meets With Visiting UN Official

LD1107120489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0817 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text) Belgrade, 11 Jul (TANJUG)—Budimir Loncar, federal secretary for Foreign Affairs, today received Michel Doo Kingue, undersecretary-general of the United Nations, who is on a short visit to Yugoslavia at the invitation of TANJUG.

In the talks, in which Mikhailo Saranovic, the director of TANJUG, also took part, there was discussion of the preparations for the forthcoming Nonaligned summit in Belgrade. There was also discussion of the cooperation between Yugoslavia and the UN Institute for Training and Research, UNITAR, the executive director of which is Michel Doo Kingue.

There was also discussion of a joint study which will be made by the end of next year by UNITAR and TANJUG on the relationship between nonalignment and the UN, or rather the interdependence of stances from the summit of the Nonaligned countries and the resolutions of the UN General Assembly. UNITAR is also planning by 1991, probably in Brioni, a round table to be organized on nonalignment on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the first summit, at which scientific workers from all over the world will analyze the place and role of the Nonaligned Movement in international relations.

Drnovsek Receives UNESCO Director General

LD1107150789 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Text] Janez Drnovsek, president of the SFRY Presidency, today received Frederico Mayor, director-general of UNESCO. In lengthy and, it was assessed, mutually useful talks, Mayor was particularly interested in the Nonaligned summit in Belgrade and its main topics and priorities. In addition, he expressed concern over the increasingly difficult economic position of many developing countries, which are reflected in all social activities. In the talks, there was discussion on the protection of the environment, human rights and other topics.

Slovene Party Looks at Interethnic Relations

AU1207073989 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 6 Jul 89 p 3

[Branko Soban report: "We Want a More Friendly Federation"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 5 Jul—At its Friday [7 July] session, the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Slovenia will concentrate its attention on the interethnic relations and the tasks of the LC of Slovenia in this field. Theses on interethnic relations in Slovenia and Yugoslavia, divided into 10 chapters, have been prepared for this point of the agenda. This article sums up some of the most important statements.

1. The traditions of the Cebine Manifesto [of 1937] are topical and valid even for the present time, although they are half a century old. The central political idea in the manifesto is the demand for the linking of all democratic political forces, which is the primary condition for the defense of democratic and national freedoms. In this connection, the particularly topical thought is that such a democratic linking may benefit the cause of the Slovene people and its free development only if politicking and

internal quarrels cease in the democratic ranks. The appeal to rally all the forces that really have the fate of the Slovene people at heart is even more topical at present.

Right to Self-Determination

A subsequent retreat from the Cebine traditions has demobilized the creative forces of the Slovene nation and the people of Slovenia, and it has weakened the political prestige and role of the Communists in Slovene society. This particularly applies to the abolition of the pluralistic nature of the forces united in the Liberation Front and to the stress on the leading nature of one of them, to the abandoning of the specific nature of the Slovene Liberation Front in order to adjust it to the political standards of other parts of Yugoslavia where such experiences were lacking, and to the disparagement of the role of nations under socialism even after the introduction of self-management when, for a time, the conviction was held in the LC of Yugoslavia that the self-determination of the class will overcome the self-determination of peoples.

2. As early as 1923, the Slovene Communists stressed the right of the Slovene people to self-determination (and within it, in particular "the right to unification of the Slovene people and its equal linking with other peoples of Yugoslavia"), and thus actively cooperated in the creation of the idea of a democratic and federal Yugoslavia.

The Slovene Communists have always understood the Yugoslavia of the AVNOJ [Antifascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] as a true common motherland of the voluntarily linked and free and equal peoples and nationalities of Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Macedonia, Montenegro, and Bosnia-Hercegovina, founded on concord and the concrete interest of all the peoples in life in common. To return to these traditions means to maintain the principle of consensus in adopting decisions that are important for the equality of peoples and their states as one of the basic principles of the 1974 SFRY Constitution; the right of self-determination is defined among the basic principles of the Constitution, and in keeping with AVNOJ traditions, this includes the right of secession.

More Modern, More Successful, and More Friendly Federation

3. The national question was often neglected in postwar development. The principles which the Slovene Communists adopted in the past are becoming increasingly important in the present situation, when interethnic relations are again becoming aggravated. The settling of interethnic relations in the future and the success of the LC's national policy are fatefully linked with a successful renewal of socialism, which will appear as democracy to the measure of man and the democracy of free, equal, and voluntarily joined peoples and nationalities. The Slovene Communists will strive for a federation built on the freedoms and rights of man and citizen, and on freedom, independence, responsibility, variety, originality, and the self-determination of peoples. On this basis, a more modern and more successful federation should grow, which will be more friendly to its citizens, peoples, and nationalities. They understand the federation as a changing process which must draw its strength from protection and the realization of these principles, and not from restricting or denying them.

4. The market mechanism may contribute significantly to the settlement of interethnic economic relations. The economic autonomy of the several peoples is closely linked with the economic independence of man as individual, as well as of economic bodies. Theories about mutual economic exploitation in many respects reveal a hidden negation of the market, or at least a lack of readiness to leave economic development to the operation of economic laws. An integral Yugoslav market and economic democracy are the decisive factors that can overcome the existing tendencies toward erecting barriers, autarky, and making particular national and local interests absolute.

5. The right of a people to self-determination is comprehensive, lasting, and inalienable. With this right, the sovereign Slovene people, together with the two nationalities and all the other citizens of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, ensure their independent political status and their comprehensive economic, social, and cultural development.

The most important foundation of the joint life of the peoples and nationalities of Yugoslavia is the striving to ensure and most comprehensively realize the civil freedoms and rights, and to renew socialism in such a way as will serve the liberation of man as the creator of material and spiritual goods. The protection of the rights and freedoms of man and the citizen at the federal level is justified only if it is based on the highest level that has yet been achieved, on bold innovations in the several members of the federation in this field, and on the agreement of all.

The principle of the consensus of all the republics and provinces in the shaping of all the decisions on the key questions of development and legal regulation must remain in force, particularly when the decisions concern the position of the peoples and their economic and comprehensive sovereignty, or when they concern the position of the republics, as well as of the autonomous provinces, as an expression of a specific national structure and the variety of interests of the peoples and nationalities living in them. In particular, consensus must remain as the only way to change the Constitution or to adopt a new one.

The SFRY must be based on a market economy and political democracy. Therefore, the Slovene Communists advocate a free market and political pluralism.

Special Rights for Nationalities

6. The Slovene Communists will strive for the special protection and rights of the Italian and Hungarian nationalities in comparison with the entire population of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia. Special rights and a search for efficient ways for the affirmation and comprehensive development of these autochthonous national communities are particularly necessary because of the critical situation and the process of assimilation of the Hungarian and especially the Italian nationalities, partly as a consequence of some objective denationalizing moves in the postwar period, for which the LC must assume its share of historical responsibility, because it did not oppose them with sufficient resolution and in good time.

While finally overcoming any ideological historical suspicion or prejudice, the nationalities should be ensured unlimited opportunities for joining in the processes of political pluralism of society and the development of contacts with all political constitutional parliamentary bodies in their parent states.

7. It is historically and culturally self-evident that the Slovenes who do not live in Slovenia are also a part of the national community. The minority national groups will be important links between peoples and the state only if they are creatively strong and nationally aware, and not burdened by the fact that they are different. This is the chief responsibility and interest of the national mainstream in Slovenia, but also of the majority nation with which they are destined to live. Taking into account the actual relations within Italy, Austria, and Hungary, the policy of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and of the SFRY must constantly and discerningly strive to create conditions for a national emancipation of Slovenes beyond the borders.

The Slovenes that live in Europe and elsewhere in the world are of course also an increasingly important part of the Slovene national community. Tomorrow's bridge to the entire Slovene diaspora must start to be built in the present.

Against the Principle of "One Man, One vote"

8. In addition to the Slovenes, the Italians, the Hungarians, and the Romanies, members of other peoples and nationalities also live in Slovenia. All the people of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, regardless of their ethnicity, must continue to be assured all the civil rights and freedoms ensured to them by the citizenship of Slovenia. Those who are citizens of other republics but have temporary residence in Slovenia must be given working and living conditions that will not put them into the position of being aliens. Resistance to any chauvinism and nationalism must be linked to the advancing perception that Slovenia is an open society, and that the culture of the Slovene people is receptive to the cultural values brought by people of other national communities to our soil.

9. Whenever the LC of Yugoslavia has tried to behave like a supranational organization, neglecting its principled attitude to the national problem, or when any of its organizations tried to work as a nationalistic organization, the LC of Yugoslavia as a whole suffered defeats.

The thesis that the LC of Yugoslavia has overstressed the class element at the expense of the national element, or that the class element has been supplanted by the other is wrong because it overlooks the fact that the chief problem is the fusion between the LC leaders and the alienated economic and administrative decisionmakers, which leads to both the class element and the national element being misused as a cover-up for the monopolies of various kinds of bureaucracy and technocracy. The Slovene Communists therefore stress that the adoption of majority decisions in the LC of Yugoslavia, according to the principle of "one man one vote," cannot be a successful remedy for national homogenization, inefficiency in the LC of Yugoslavia, or its alienation from the workers class.

The LC of Slovenia energetically opposes any nationalist pressure and tendencies that strive for a future of Slovene sovereignty and statehood outside Yugoslavia and without socialism. At the same time it warns that separatist tendencies are intensifying, chiefly as a consequence of the attempts to reshape AVNOJ Yugoslavia, a consequence of the fact that the Socialist Republic of Slovenia and the LC of Slovenia have been accused of conducting an anti-Yugoslav policy, and a consequence of a kind of "differentiation," purges, and pogroms that constitute a step backward from the level of democratization achieved in the LC of Yugoslavia and society in general. These are tendencies that are opposed not only to the tradition of Cebine, but also to the attitude of the LC of Yugoslavia toward the national problem, without which the Communists could not gain the trust of all our peoples and nationalities. These are the tendencies that threaten to break up Yugoslavia.

The LC of Slovenia is in favor of ensuring that decisions on key program lines that, in the view of an individual republic organization, are of fateful importance should be taken at the 14th LC of Yugoslavia Congress only with the agreement of the several republican and provincial organizations, and not by outvoting. Democratic confrontation and the harmonization of opposing arguments are the only path leading to the adoption of decisions in a way that will strengthen the confidence in the LC of Yugoslavia and its prestige, and will make possible its more creative role in solving the economic crisis and encouraging a quicker development.

The 11th Congress of the LC of Slovenia should determine more precisely the new way of regulating the relations in the LC of Yugoslavia and should clearly and bindingly instruct its delegates as to how they should act at the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the LC of Yugoslavia, including directions in case the LC of Slovenia does not succeed with its proposals.

How Can We Enter Europe?

10. Speaking about the cooperation of Slovenia and Yugoslavia with Europe, the LC of Slovenia is in favor of political support to cooperation between the several constituent parts of Yugoslavia and other parts of Europe, because such cooperation enhances the European position of all of Yugoslavia and at the same time encourages our internal development and social transformation toward the European quality of life.

European harmonization demands that we should be adjusting to the modern trends in the organization and life of heterogeneous communities. The inclusion of Yugoslavia in Europe therefore does not demand any leveling, which is to say abolition of differences, but a harmonization of the differences in a community that will give the greatest benefit to every definable composite part of Yugoslavia on the lasting foundations of the production forces and creativity of the people, and to the ethnic communities that are open to mutual harmony.

Slovene Body Questions Security Service Role

LD1107084289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1434 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Ljubljana, July 10 (TANJUG)—The Assembly of the Yugoslav northern Republic of Slovenia today requested of the Federal Constitutional Court to examine the constitutionality and legality of a number of federal documents relating to the state of emergency and the rules of work of the State Security Service.

The documents have been adopted by the Yugoslav State Presidency, the Federal Government and the federal secretary for (?internal) affairs.

The Assembly of Slovenia claims that the texts of the respective regulations were not published before the regulations took effect, although it is so required under the Federal Constitution.

The Slovene legislature is of the opinion that the adoption of unpublished and bylaw regulations, some of which, as it claims, contain even anti-constitutional and anti-legal provisions, means the establishment of a parallel legal system. Not only is such a system impermissible, but it is a source of lawlessness and is one of the most (?serious crimes) of the violation of human rights and freedoms, according to the Assembly of Slovenia.

The Slovene Assembly has the largest number of objections concerning the unpublished rules of [word indistinct) the State Security Service. It claims that the respective rules, among other things, enable private flats to be [word indistinct] searched [words indistinct] "deeply encroaches on one of the basic civic rights and freedoms."

In the letter sent to the Federal Constitutional Court, the Assembly of Slovenia says that it has established that the rules of work of the State Security Service contains provisions which "enable tapping and [word indistinct] of direct conversations indoors or outdoors."

The Assembly of Slovenia says that such a behaviour of the State Security Service, which has no ground in the constitutional and other legal provisions, encroaches on the integrity of citizens.

Montenegrin Presidency Favors Private Media

LD1107231689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1606 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Titograd, July 10 (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the League of Communists [LCY] of the Yugoslav republic of Montenegro, within a discussion on political pluralism today, urged the creation of a social climate in which citizens would be legally free publicly to speak and [word insdistinct] themselves to form private and shareholders' mass media.

A democratic public implies not only that society must be public, but that politics must be so too. A legal state is a pre-condition for a democratic public to exercise its function, it was set out at today's session of the Montenegro LCY Presidency.

The Montenegro party Presidency called also for the creation of an active public, which it said was possible only in the conditions of political competitiveness in society.

Montenegro party leader Momir Bulatovic said that the republican party officials [words indistinct] at interfere in the editorial policies of the press and other media. They would not suggest which individuals are desirable and which are not, or influence their writing and commentaries, Bulatovic set out.

The first time a political official would give in to the temptation and try doing something of that kind, the public would be informed about it, Bulatovic said.

Joint Macedonian-Serbian Meeting Sought

AU1107204389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 10 Jul 89 p 1

[D. N. report: "A Meeting With the Leadership of the Socialist Republic of Serbia as Soon as Possible"]

[Text] Skopje, 9 Jul—At sessions which were held yesterday and on 1 July, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Macedonia discussed some phenomena which have recently

had a negative effect on relations between the Socialist Republic of Macedonia [SR] and the SR of Serbia. Considering that this involved phenomena that are sensitive for the history and national essence of the Macedonian people, the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Macedonia decided to initiate a meeting to be held between the leaderships of the SR of Macedonian and the SR of Serbia as soon as possible, at which these issues and all the relations between the two republics and throughout the country would be thoroughly discussed.

At yesterday's session which was chaired by Jakov Lazaroski, the participants also discussed electoral activity in the Macedonian LC and in this regard, most was said about some weaknesses in the procedure for nominating and proposing candidates for the organs of the Macedonian LC and the LC of Yugoslavia. Not enough attention is paid to the structure of the list of possible candidates, too many candidates are proposed from the ranks of the leading and administrative structures. The Presidium wants these weaknesses to be eliminated in the next elections and more workers, young people, and women to be proposed.

Court Begins Assessing Emergency Measures

LD1207130789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0926 GMT 12 Jul 89

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 12 Jul (TANJUG)—Following a proposal by the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia today initiated the procedure for assessing the constitutionality of four regulations referring to emergency measures. The court will also reexamine the constitutionality of the law on travel documents for SFRY citizens on the basis of which a passport can be confiscated or its issue or extension turned down without an explanation.

Decisions on both constitutional controversies can be expected in the second half of the year, since today's court session is the last one before the summer holidays. Since the Slovene Assembly is one of the so-called authorized proposers on the procedure for assessing constitutionality, the court only established that the procedure has been initiated and appointed Bozidar Bulatovic as judge raporteur. In the case of the law on travel documents, the court endorsed the initiative by lawyer Antun Milicevic from Makarska. [passage omitted]

Veterans Group Criticizes Anti-Tito 'Campaign'

LD1107102689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2200 GMT 10 Jul 89

[Text] Skoplje, July 10 (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the organization of World War Two veterans of the Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia today urged an end to the campaign aimed against late President of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, joining their colleagues from Croatia in the same demand.

It was said at today's session of the Presidency of the veterans of Macedonia that it is normal today in a democratic discussion to re-examine the revolution, but it is not normal to abuse the democracy for making uncritical assesssments and slandering late President Tito.

The Macedonian veterans condemned the removal of Tito's pictures from offices and the hanging up of photographs of "certain republican leaders" in their place, very likely alluding to the frequent putting up of the picture of Presidency President of the Republic of Serbia Slobodan Milosevic.

The Presidency of the veteran organization also condemned the publication of interviews with the heirs of the former Karadjordje royal family, which ruled in pre-war Yugoslavia. Such interviews over the past few days have been published on several occasions by dailies and weeklies in Serbia. However such interviews were also published over the past few months by dailies in Croatia and Slovenia.

Astonishment was also expressed at today's session over why the League of Communists and the Socialist Alliance "in certain areas" remain silent about these phenomena.

Vlasi Changes Lawyers for Financial Reasons

AU1107080589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Jul 89 p 3

[B.Oprijan-Ilic report: "Why Is Vlasi Changing His Lawyers?"]

[Text] The inquiry in the case of Azem Vlasi, who is suspected of having committed the most serious criminal act, has been going on for 4 months. Recently, it has been been broadened. Vlasi and 15 other people—and not just the nine who have already been subjected to inquiry—will find themselves in the dock if the prosecutor finds that the social system had been under counterrevolutionary threat (Article 114 of the SFRY Criminal Law). So far about 80 people have been questioned as witnesses in Titova Mitrovica. Vlasi and some of the other accused should have been interrogated again yesterday.

Meanwhile the composition of the team that has been defending the man who until recently was one of the leading politicians in Kosovo has been changed somewhat. Nadira Vlasi, Azem Vlasi's wife, told Belgrade lawyer Vesna Vojvodic and Ljubljana lawyer Drago Demsar to withdraw their services for financial reasons. In their place, the Vlasi family has engaged a new Belgrade lawyer, Rajko Danilovic.

This decision will not prolong the proceedings against Vlasi and others, Vesna Vojvodic said, adding that the costs of the defense were relatively high in relation to the lawyers' rate, considering that the defense needed to make numerous trips to Titova Mitrovica where Vlasi is

being held and where the proceedings are being conducted. She said that when she saw her client last, on 1 July, nothing had been said about the change of lawyers and that she had informed Vlasi about it by a telegram few days ago.

We asked her how Vlasi was treated in Titova Mitrovica prison.

I was told that he shares a cell with several other people. Vlasi, like other prisoners, is allowed a visit by his close family, excluding children, two times a month. He does not attend witnesses' hearings while he is being held under inquiry. Newspaper reports that reach him are in a "censored" form, so, for instance, he learned about his expulsion from the party about 3 months later. Vlasi, like other prisoners, is not allowed to have a pen in his "prison kit." He is only provided with one when it is necessary. The only books available are those from the prison library. As far as the interrogation conducted so far is concerned, it was only about circumstances connected with November and March events, as well as the events in the Stari Trg mine. The inquiry is being conducted in both Albanian and Serbo-Croatian. The records are kept in the same way.

Let us recall, Azem Vlasi and other people that are being held in the inquiry (except the most recent ones) were arrested at the beginning of March of this year and cannot, according to the law, be kept in prison for more than 6 months without being charged. In fact, the trial should start on 2 or 3 September.

Who Is Detained

Originally the inquiry was instituted against Azem Vlasi, Burhan Kavaja, Aziz Abrasi, Ibus Janizu, Mensur Fejra, Riza Musliju, Smailj Nimani, Murselj Hazir, Sinan Kurtesi, and Remzi Kadriju (all from Stari Trg).

The inquiry has recently been broadened and includes six or seven more people. Except the miners from Stari Trg, the group also includes Ljazar Krasnici, director of Kosovo Elektroprivreda.

Strikes Affect Koper, Ljubljana TV News

LD1107151489 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 11 Jul 89

[Summary from poor reception] During the afternoon and evening, Koper Television will reduce all its current affairs programs to 5 minutes and news bulletins will be without pictures. The warning strike by workers at Koper Television will last only 1 day. The reasons for the strike are not yet clear, but negotiations between representatives of Koper Television and Ljubljana Television are continuing to try to resolve the problems.